





# MEMOIRS

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# PETER HENRY BRUCE, Esq.

A MILITARY OFFICER,

In the SERVICES of

PRUSSIA, RUSSIA, and GREAT BRITAIN.

CONTAINING

An Account of his Travels in GERMANY, RUSSIA, TARTARY, TURKEY, the WEST INDIES, &c.

AS ALSO

Several very interesting private ANECDOTES of the CZAR,
PETER I. of Russia.

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## ADVERTISEMENT.

THE following Memoirs are taken from the manuscript of an officer of great merit and undoubted honour. It is immaterial to add, that they are genuine, as they bear such internal marks of authenticity, as will admit of no dispute.

Any anecdotes that relate to the character of fo extraordinary a personage as the Czar Peter, cannot fail of being acceptable to the reader; who will of course enjoy an additional pleasure in receiving them from the pen of a man who was in his service, and in his considence. It is this circumstance that will render it unnecessary to apologize for any deficiency in point of style, as it is entirely disregarded in this narration, the chief merit of which consists in a strict regard to truth, without the least pretensions to embellishments.

As

### ADVERTISEMENT.

As the manuscript leaves off abruptly, in the middle of the Rebellion, in 1745, it may be necessary to mention, that the author was, about that time employed in fortifying Berwick; and after having finished that work he retired to his house in the country, where he died in the year 1757

#### BOOK I.

THE author's descent.—His grandfather's going into the Prussian service.

—John Bruce's marriage and descendants, and the author's birth, &c.—His entering into the Prussian service—Lines on the battle of Ramillies.—A remarkable story of the author's landlady.—His first campaign.—His second campaign.—Defeat of the French.—Siege of Liste.

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—Sieges of Aire and St. Venant.—Terrible story of the Jesuits at Tournay.

HE following journal was originally written in the BOOK I.
German, my native language; but as I have lately
enjoyed the leifure of a country retirement, I have, in this
year 1755, translated it into English (to me a foreign
B tongue),

BOOK Is tongue), for the entertainment of my friends, and the information of my family, that they might know their connections in Germany, and the particulars of a life spent in war for a series of years in different parts of the globe. -To begin then,

The author's deicent.

James Bruce and John Bruce, cousins and descendants of the family of Airth, in the county of Stirling, (a branch of the family of Clackmannan) in Scotland, formed a refolution, during the troubles of Oliver Cromwell, to leave their native country, in order to push their fortunes abroad; and, as there were some ships in the port of Leith ready to fail for the Baltic, they agreed to go together to that part of the world: but as there happened to be two of these ship-masters of the same name, by an odd mistake the cousins embarked in different vessels, the one bound to Prussia, the other to Russia, by which accident they never again faw each other.

His grandfaservice.

John Bruce, my grandfather, landed at Konigsberg, in ther goes into the Prussia; from thence he went to Berlin, and entered into the fervice of the elector of Brandenburg, and by degrees was advanced to the command of a regiment, which was the highest military preferment he ever obtained, notwithstanding the elector, in other respects, shewed him many favours: amongst the rest the following was no small instance of his regard. My grandfather one day attending the elector in hunting, when his highness, in the eager purfuit of the chace, entered a large wood, and was feparated from all his attendants except my grandfather, who kept up with him. Night overtaking them in the wood, they were obliged to difmount, and lead their horses, when,

after groping their way for a confiderable time in the dark, BOOK I. they at length perceived a light at a little distance, and upon their getting up to it, they found themselves at the miferable hut of a poor tar-burner, who lived a great way in the wood. Being informed by the poor inhabitant that they were a long way from any town, village, or other habitation, the prince, who by this time was both tired and hungry, asked him what he had got to eat; upon which the poor man produced a loaf of coarse black bread and a piece of cheefe, of which the elector ate very heartily, and finished his meal with a draught of water, declaring he had never eat any thing with fo good an appetite before. then enquired how large that wood was, and was told that it bordered on Mecklenburg Strelitz, and that it was of very great extent. Upon this my grandfather observed, that it was a pity fuch a large tract of land should lie useless, and if his highness would give him a grant of it, he would undertake to build a village in the middle of it, and another upon the spot where they then were. To this the elector agreed, and foon after confirmed his grant by an ample charter, with great privileges annexed thereto; and my grandfather, according to his engagement, built a village in the middle of the wood, which he called Brucenwold (or Bruce-Wood); and another at the tar-burner's hut, which he called Jetzkendorf, its ancient name; for a village of that name had formerly stood there, part of the ruins being then still visible. The elector slept upon some straw till day-break, when he was awaked by the noise of his other attendants, who had been in fearch of him all night; and on their arrival he departed for Berlin.

My

BOOK I. John' Bruce's descendants, and the au-

My grandfather married at Berlin a lady of fortune. of the family of Arenfdorf, and got with her feveral estates marriage and in land, of confiderable value. He had by her two fons and three daughters; the youngest of his sons was my fathor's birth, ther; his eldest daughter was married to colonel Dewitz, who was afterwards governor of Pomerania, and who got with her a landed estate in that province called Malchin; the fecond daughter was made abbefs of a protestant monastery, founded for the education of young ladies, but the was afterwards married to lieutenant colonel Rebeur. who got Brucenwold for her fortune; and his youngest daughter was married to major general Lattorff, who got for her fortune his most valuable estates of Konikendorff and Woletz: he thus disposed of all the landed estates he got by his wife in favour of his daughters, and gave his two fons an education only, and a fmall flock of money. Having placed them in the elector's grand musketteer guards, he left them to push their fortunes in the army, as he himfelf had done before them. His eldest son, Charles, was a lieutenant at the fiege of Namur, where he was killed; his youngest son James, my father, married Elizabeth Catherina Detring, of a confiderable family in Westphalia, and was himself then a lieutenant in a Scotch regiment, commanded by the earl of Leven, in the fervice of Brandenburg, and I was born at Detring-Castle, (the manorhouse of that family) in the year 1692.

> This regiment was ordered to Flanders, and my father carried my mother with him, and we remained there till д 698, when the regiment returned to Scotland, and whither we accompanied him. The regiment being then put in garrifon

garrison at Fort William, I was left in Fise to the care of BOOK 1.

a grand uncle, my grandfather's youngest brother, who possessed a small estate near Cupar, at which place I was put to school, where I continued three years, when my father sent for me to Fort William, and I remained there three years more.

1704.

In the year 1704, my father got leave of absence from the regiment, and fet out on a visit to Germany, whither he carried his wife and family; and after one year's stay with their relations, he returned to Scotland, leaving me behind in the care of their friends, who undertook to educate and provide for me. Their first attempt in my favour was to get me made a page to the king of Prussia, and when I was going to be prefented to his majesty by the marshal count Witgenstein, the prince royal enquired of him who I was; and being informed, and also that I was going to be presented to the king for a page, he asked me feveral questions, and told the marshal that he himself would have me for his page. We returned without my being prefented to the king; and on my telling this piece of news to my friends, they would by no means confent; alledging, that the prince did not use his pages well, which my cousin, a fon of general Lattorsf's, had experienced, who had been page of honour to him, and was then a gentleman of the: bed-chamber to the king, for which reason they would not fuffer me to accept the offer.

The next thing they endeavoured was to get me into the Royal Academy, as a cadet; but they were told that was now impracticable, as I had refused the prince's offer of being his page: however, they fent me to the academy, at their

17060

own:

BOOK I. own charge, to learn fortification and other necessary branches. My uncle Rebeur arrived at this time from Flanders; he was then lieutenant-colonel of the marquis de Varen's regiment, and when he was about to return, I expressed a desire to go with him. He very kindly approved my defign, and on the fuggestion of my friends, that it might be hurtful to me in my education, the colonel affured them that it would rather be an advantage, as there were in almost every town in Flanders exceeding good masters for teaching fortification and gunnery, &c. and that I should have double advantage in improving the theory by feeing many parts of it in real practice: he farther offered not only to keep me with himself, but that no opportunity to improve my education should be neglected. This kind offer was very satisfactory to all my friends, and he performed his promife with a most paternal care.

His entering vice.

I fat out with him accordingly for the regiment, which Prussian fer- was then in garrison at Maestricht, where we arrived in April 1706, and I was entered in the colonel's company to carry arms, and foon became a proficient in the manual exercises; after which I found my duty very easy, for I had only to mount guard once in a week, the rest of my time being devoted to the study of fortification, &c.

> This year was memorable for the defeat of the French army under marshal Villeroy, at Ramillies: the battle was fought on the 12th of May, when the duke of Marlborough gained a complete victory over them: the victory was followed by the furrender of many places both in Flanders and Brabant. This year was also remarkable for the king of Sweden's entering Saxony, and dethroning king Augustus,

where

1706.

where he raised five millions sterling by levying contribu- BOOK I. tions. Among the prisoners who were fent in here after the battle of Ramillies, was a marquis, who was a colonel of horse: general Dopff, the governor of this place, not only gave him the liberty of the town, but also allowed him to go a hunting in the country; yet, notwithstanding this polite usage, and his own parole, this officer thought proper to make his escape, but was soon fent back under a guard by marshal Villeroy, and was afterwards allowed the liberty only of the town, attended by a ferieant for his vade mecum.

After the battle the following French verses made their Lines on the battle of Ramillies.

C'est à ce coup, que Villeroy, ce maréshal incomparable, Pour avoir bien servi le roy, aura l'Epée de connetable Car pour un moindre evenement, Tallard un governmens Varus rends moi mes legions? S'écrioit l'empereur auguste : Tallard rends moi mes battaillions? Dit Lous, à Titre plus juste, Tallard repond-Hé grand roy, demande lès a Villeroy.

appearance:

At the house where I lodged with the colonel, I was told Aremarkable flory of the a very remarkable story that happened between my land-author's lady and her former husband, who was a native of this town; his name was Niepels, and was a captain of dragoons in the Dutch service; he courted our landlady at the Hague, she was the daughter of a merchant there, and after a folemn promise of marriage, he first seduced, and then left her pregnant: her father was so incensed at her, that he turned her out of the house; but an aunt taking compassion on her kept her, till she was brought to bed, and afterwards: supplied her with a little money, with which, unknown to

BOOK I any of her friends, she equipped herself in men's cloaths, bought a horse, and went and offered herself as a volunteer in captain Niepels' troop: her offer was accepted, and flie continued fome time in the troop; the captain used fometimes to tell his volunteer that he was very like an old mistress of his, but never had the least suspicion that he was speaking to the very person: she staid till the end of the campaign, when captain Niepels, being informed of his father's death, left the fervice, and went home to take posfession of his estate. By this accident she seemed to lose fight of any opportunity to call the captain to an account, which was the fole motive of her adventure: however, the followed him, but laid afide the cavalier, and re-affumed the female, and arriving at Maestricht, she prevailed upon his maid-servant (for a little money) to allow her to sleep in a private room in the house for one night, as she was a stranger, and did not chuse to lodge in any public inn. Having thus broke the ground, and got admission, she had an opportunity to reconnoitre the house, particularly the captain's apartment, who was generally abroad the whole day, and came home late at night. She kept very close, till she thought every body in the house was asleep, and then proceeding with a candle in one hand, and a poniard in the other, to his bedfide, she awaked him, and asked if he knew her, and upon his demanding what had brought her there, she told him, that he now must resolve to perform his engagement to her, otherwise she was determined to put him to death. The captain thought proper to refuse, and, at the same time, called to his fervants; but, before any of them could arrive The struck him in the breast; and notwithstanding all the

defence

defence he could make, she gave him several other wounds BOOK I. in different parts of his body; the fervants at length came to his affistance, and finding their master streaming with blood, they fent for a magistrate and guards to secure her. In the mean time, the lady never offered to move off, but continued upbraiding him with his treachery, although he entreated her to fave herfelf, as he thought himfelf mortally wounded; at last the magistrate came with a guard to conduct her to prison, which the captain would not suffer, but begged them to fend for a priest, to whom, on his arrival, he confessed how much he had injured the young woman, and defired the priest, in the presence of the magistrate, to marry them without loss of time, which accordingly he did: upon the furgeon's declaring that none of the wounds were mortal, the guard was withdrawn, and by the careful attendance of the furgeon, and the no less tender care of his now spouse, the captain soon reco-They lived afterwards in the greatvered of his wounds. est harmony for several years, till an ill-fated accident put an end to his life: one evening they were walking togegether before the Trowen-Port, and passing by an arfenal where a number of old ufelefs arms were lying, a gentlewoman in their neighbourhood, with whom they lived in great intimacy, met them, and taking up an old rusty pistol, said jocularly to captain Niepels, that it was decreed he should die by the hands of a woman, which he actually did, for the pistol went off and shot him dead upon the spot. He left three daughters, who were now marriageable; his widow (our landlady), fome time after his death, married his nephew.

1706.

C

BOOK L

1706.

One night as I was on guard with our lieutenant upon Petersberg, and standing sentry with my musket in my hand, the but-end on the ground, and pulling it after me. in a careless manner over the gravel, it accidentally went off, and alarmed the whole garrifon: this accident obliged the lieutenant to fend a ferieant to acquaint the officer at Petersport; and next day I was brought before the governor, where I appeared in great fear, having been told by the foldiers that I should think myself well off if I had only to run the gauntlet; but, to my great joy, it ended in a reprimand, and being told, if a common foldier had donethe like he would have been feverely punished: this reproof made me more cautious in future when on duty. I was this winter made a ferjeant, it being customary in the Prussian service to go through all the low degrees before they can obtain an officer's commission; by this promotion I was advanced two steps above the ordinary rule. the month of April, 1707, the prince-royal of Prussia. came to this place, and reviewed our regiment; and in passing by him, and answering to my name, according to the muster-roll, he recollected me, and blamed the colonel for making a child first ferjeant in his company; but on the colonel's informing him that I performed my duty very well, and was affiduous in learning the military art, the prince feemed to be very well fatisfied.

paign.

3707.

His first cam- In May our regiment marched from Maestricht; and joined the army at Mildert; and on the oth of August, we advanced to Genap, with an intention to attack the enemy; on the 10th, at night, we passed the Deyle at Florival, and marched till morning: at day-break we ar-

rived.

1707.

rived at Waveren, and found the enemy had retired, upon BOOK I. which we returned to Genap. The French kept retiring before us the whole campaign, fo warily, that we were never able to bring them to an engagement, which harraffed our troops by continual marches and countermarches, without being able to effect any thing. wards winter the army marched to Asche, where we separated, and went into quarters. The prince of Orange was at this time declared general of the Dutch forces, though no more than twenty-one years of age. Our regiment marched to Huye for winter-quarters, where the Swedish general, Oxenstein, was governor: this town lies on both fides of the Meuse, and is but indifferently fortified, yet it is strengthened by a castle and three other forts, erected upon eminences, which protect the town. I mounted guard one day with a Dutch lieutenant, a very plain man, who could neither read nor write, but was advanced from a ferjeant for a pretty extraordinary exertion of personal courage and gallant perseverance: the French had besieged and taken a town with all its fortifications, excepting one tower, where this ferjeant was posted with twenty men, and which he bravely maintained against every effort of the enemy, till the place was retaken the following year; to which he also contributed greatly from his fituation.

As I was one day out with a party, and passing near a monastery, we observed a woman running, and several perfons in pursuit of her; we went and met her: being informed that we belonged to the garrison of Huye, she feemed to be overjoyed, and being thus relieved a little from her fright, she told us that she belonged to Namur, and had engaged herself to a French officer without the

G 2 confent ing her in marriage, had shut her up in that monastery, from whence she had just made her escape over the gardenwall by the help of a ladder, and that she intended to go to Liege, where she had relations who would protect and favour her: the event justified the affertion, for on her arrival there, her friends procured a passport for her lover, and she got the husband of her own choice.

1708. His fecond campaign. In May 1708, we marched from Huye to join the army, and came to Anderlech on the 23d, when the Prussians, Hanoverians, and Dutch began to form; on the 26th, we went to Bellinghen, where we joined the English and other troops; the army consisted of 180 squadrons, and 112 battalions. The French army, under the duke de Vendosme, formed at St. Ghislain, and consisted of 197 squadrons, and 124 battalions; the two royal princes, the dukes of Burgundy and Berry, were with the army. At Bellinghen we were joined by the electoral prince of Hanover, (his present majesty) and prince Eugene, whose troops from the Moselle were come to Maestricht, and soon after joined us.

Defeat of the French.

The French opened the campaign with taking Ghent and Bruges by furprize; they made a fruitless attack on Damme, but they took fort Plassendahl, between Bruges and Ostend; and on the 9th of July, they invested Oudenarde, but on our approach they raised the siege, and retired over the Scheld. We pursued them close, and brought them to an engagement on the 11th. It was six o'clock in the afternoon before our lines were formed; Prince Eugene commanded the right, and the duke of Marlborough the left wings. After a most vigorous and well-conducted attack, the French were beat, and sled under cover of the

night, which faved them from being cut to pieces. Next BOOK I. day 4000 of the enemy were found dead on the field of battle; 7000 were made prisoners; besides 535 officers (generals included); 34 standards, 25 colours, and 5 pair of kettle drums, but no cannon, the battle being fought without artillery on either side. The loss on our side was 2972, killed and wounded.

After this battle, the French retired behind the canal, The Siege of between Ghent and Bruges; and count Lottum, the Pruffian general, was fent with a respectable detachment, to attack their lines at Ypres, which we took and levelled with
little or no resistance. The army then went and invested
Lisle, which was afterwards besieged in form by prince
Eugene, whilst the duke of Marlborough covered the siege.
This siege, which lasted so long, and cost so much blood,
was attended with various events.

A pretty remarkable occurrence happened to prince Eu-A remarkable gene in the time of it. His highness received a letter from accident to prince Eufome unknown hand, and upon opening it, he found it gene. contained a greasy paper, which he immediately and fortunately let fall upon the ground; his aid de camp took it up and smelled at it, and was directly seized with a giddiness, so much, that they were obliged to give him an antidote: this paper was then tied about a dog's neck for an experiment, and he died within twenty-four hours, notwithstanding a counter-poison was given him. The officers about the prince expressing their concern at the accident, he replied, without the least emotion, "You need not wonder at it, gentlemen; I have received several letters of this sort before now."

1708.

BOOK L

The duke of Burgundy being defirous to know in what condition the garrifon was, one captain Dubois undertook to get into the town, and having got undiscovered to the outworks of the place, he stripped himself, and having hid his clothes, fwam over feven canals and ditches, and got fafe into the town, and returning the fame way brought the duke a letter from marshal Boussleur, which he carried in his mouth, fo enveloped that it was preserved quite dry.

Sad accident to the ene-

In the night of the 28th of September, we were alarmed my's cavalry. with a loud crack, and in half an hour another, and at midnight there was fuch a thunder-clap that the earth was fliaken under us: this fo alarmed the whole army, that we lay under arms till day-light, when we were informed that 1200 of the enemy's cavalry, having each fifty pounds of powder in bags behind them, were endeavouring to get into the town, but being discovered and fired upon, they spurred hastily forwards, by which means some of the bags got untied, and the powder pouring to the ground, catched the fire which flew from the horse's feet, striking on the causeway, and communicating with the powder in the bags, the whole blew up; about fixty of the men perished on entering the lines, and an hundred near the gate; it was a shocking fight next day, to see the road strewed with half burnt heads, limbs, and carcafes of men and horses; the rest of the corps threw away their powder and made off, but it was believed about three hundred got into the town.

> Some few days afterwards, fifty peafants were taken endeavouring to convey powder into the town in their wheelbarrows: as they had the liberty to fell milk to the army, they brought it in barrels, two on a barrow; and on this

occasion, one of the barrels on every barrow proved to be BOOK I.

powder; and being all convicted, they were every one
hung up.

About this time, Augustus, king of Poland, and several other princes, came here to be eye-witnesses of this famous fiege. The enemy, in endeavouring to obstruct our convoys from Oftend, brought on themselves their defeat at Weynendahl. They had strongly fortified themselves by a triple entrenchment round their camp at Oudenarde, where they had retired, beyond the Schelde, which greatly impeded our communication with that quarter, and the duke of Bavaria, at the same time, besieging Brussels, reduced us to the necessity of living for some time on turnips and onions. To relieve ourselves from this distress, and openthe communication with our provisions, a sufficient body was detached from the army, and by a forced march in the night, croffed the Schelde, and attacked their lines next day, when they gave us much less trouble than we expected, for they fled with the utmost precipitation, leaving us their whole camp, baggage, and all; in the pursuit, our cavalry took a number of prisoners; here we got a very happy relief of provisions of all forts in great plenty, after fo flender a diet. We next marched to the relief of Bruffels, but before we arrived the duke had abandoned the fiege, leaving behind him fifteen pieces of heavy cannon, and two mortars; having thus happily fucceeded in our enterprize, we returned to the siege of Lisle.

Upon our breaking ground on the glacis, or covered way, I was with the pioneers; the engineer who marked out the ground being killed, and our men quite exposed to

gun, and very foon got ourselves under cover; for which fervice the general of the trenches for that night, recommended me to our commander in chief, general count Lottum, who wrote to the king in my favour, and in the winter I got an ensign's commission \*; but I was generally employed as an engineer. The town surrendered the 23d of October, and as we were then quartered in the barracks, we were better able to prosecute the siege of the citadel, which still held out, and was carried on by sap, under the direction of general Coehorn, in very cold weather and hard frost: this service lasted to the 9th of December, when the citadel also surrendered; on the 10th, marshal Boussleur marched out with his garrison, and was conducted to Doway.

Surrender of Lifle.

During the fiege, after we had made a lodgement upon the fecond counterfearp, a Dutch captain, who was posted there, fled from his post, on the approach of the enemy, without making the least resistance; his serjeant, reslecting on the dishonourable retreat, endeavoured to persuade him to return and recover it, but in vain; the serjeant then addressed himself to the men, telling them if they would follow him, he would endeavour to regain the post they had deserted in so cowardly a manner; the men immediately

<sup>\*</sup> The commission was sent to his uncle col. Rebeur, who concealed it from Mr. Bruce on account of his youth, being only in his sixteenth year, till some time next campaign; coming to the knowlege of it, he walked to the door of his uncle's tent, and sticking his halbert in the ground with some resentment, cried out, "There stands the serjeant!" and walking a few steps from it, he called out, "Here stands the officer!" and then received his commission.

agreed, rallied, and attacked the enemy with fuch bravery, BOOK r. that the post was very foon regained. Upon a representation of this action, the officer was degraded for cowardice, and the ferieant rewarded as he deferved. A foldier without courage is like a dead corpfe; forrow hangs on the countenances of its late best friends till it is buried out of their fight.

1708.

A bon mot of the duke of Marlborough was at this Abon mot of time much talked of in the camp; when the king of Po-Marlboland was going for Saxony, and the duke had taken his rough. leave of him, wishing him a good journey, his majesty also wished his grace a good voyage to England; upon which the duke answered him in French, "Que le tems étant fort froid, il ne vouloit pas passer la mer sans Gand;" that is, the weather being very cold, he would not pass the fea without gloves; the word gand, in French, being the name of the city of Ghent, as well as the term for gloves; and his grace was as good as his word.

Our army, notwithstanding the rigour of the season, Siege of marched immediately for Ghent, and we invested it on the 17th of the fame month. The duke of Marlborough commanded the fiege, and prince Eugene covered. garrison confisted of 30 battalions and 19 squadrons; but the water in their moats being all hard frozen over, and apprehending a furprize, they thought proper to furrender the 31st of December. The garrison marched out the 2d of January, 1709, and was conducted to Tournay; the duke of Argyle immediately took possession of the town and citadel. The enemy foon after evacuated Bruges, Redfort, Plassendahl, and Leffinghen, which finished this me-

morable

regiment marched to Brussels, where we wintered: the French made proposals this winter for a general peace, but they did not succeed.

Third campaign.

Siege of Tournay.

In the beginning of June we marched to join the army, which was formed the 21st, between Courtray and Menin, 110,000 strong; from thence we passed the Lower Deyle, and encamped on the plains of Lisle. The French army, which confifted of 130,000, encamped on the plains of Lens, where they entrenched themselves so strongly, that it was thought imprudent on our part to attempt to force them, and it was then refolved to befiege Tournay; the enemy had fo little suspicion of such an attempt, that they had withdrawn a part of the garrifon to strengthen their army. The town was accordingly invested on the 27th, under the command of the duke of Marlborough, and the lines of circumvallation were begun the 30th; count Lottum commanded the attack on the citadel, where I was employed for the first time as engineer; the other two attacks, against the city, were commanded by generals Schullemburg and Fagel, and the prince of Nassau, at this time, took the two forts, St. Amand and Mortagne, which were very necessary in covering the siege. The 6th of July, the lines of circumvallation were finished, and on the 7th at night, the trenches were opened: on the 13th, our batteries began to play upon the town. In short, the town furrendered the 28th, and the garrifon to the number of 4000, retired into the citadel; and two captains, four lieutenants, and 150 men, deferted and came into our camp, and 800 of their wounded were conveyed to Doway. In this

of Albemarle was appointed governor in the town.

1709.

On the 1st of August, they began to fire upon us from the citadel, which was immediately returned from our batteries, and on the 3d, one of our shells fell into a powder-magazine of their's, which blew up: a cessation of hostilities on both sides was soon after agreed to, on condition of surrendering on the 5th of September, if they were not then relieved by the French army. During the truce, a number of deserters from our army, being then in the citadel, got leave to attempt the making of their escape, but being informed against by one of their number, they were all caught and hanged.

The conditions of the truce being made known to the French king, he would not agree to the proposition of surrender, which being communicated to the besiegers, hostilities were recommenced. The enemy fprung many mines, and our counter-mining occasioned many skirmishes under-ground; on the 26th, they sprung a mine, which blew up 400 of our men, and killed Mr. Du May, our chief engineer; after this they fprung feveral others, which did us confiderable mischief, especially one which left an opening fixty paces long and twenty foot deep, and which bade fair to have blown up a whole Hanoverian regiment, had it not been very opportunely discovered, so that we lost only one private centinel killed by it. On the 30th, we cannonnaded and bombarded them fo warmly, that they beat a parley on the 31st in the morning: they now stipulated for conditions, but no other terms could be received than furrendering prisoners of war, which they were not, even yet,

upon our redoubled efforts, with every warlike engine, they at last were obliged to surrender on our own terms, and march out on the 5th of September with 3500 men, besides their sick and wounded.

Before Tournay an express arrived from prince Menzikoff to the duke of Marlborough, informing his grace that the czar's army had obtained a complete victory over the. king of Sweden at Pultowa, on the 8th of July last.

The battle of Malplaquet.

Our next operation was directed against Mons: the elector of Bavaria, who refided there, hearing thereof, retired to Namur. Marshal Bouffleur was now sent by the French king to affift marshal Villars, with orders rather to hazard a battle than fuffer Mons to fall in the general career of our arms. On the 8th, prince Eugene joined us with his army, when we were very much fatigued with marching night and day in rainy weather, and through bad roads. On the 9th, we observed the enemy moving towards Blarignies, in order to possess themselves of the woods and hedges of Taniers and Malplaquet; upon which. we moved forward in order of battle; but as the English were foraging, they could not join us that day, and the two armies began cannonading each other, which continued till night, and was renewed next morning, when we did not choose to engage, as we expected to be joined by twenty-three. battalions from Tournay. This day I very narrowly escaped. being shot by one of our own foldiers, who being out of hisrank I ordered him to it, and as he took no notice of the orders, I ftruck him across the shoulders and pushing him. into it, he stepped back and cocked his piece which he directly

directly presented to my breast; I instantly parried the muz-BOOK I. zle downwards, and the bullet went into the ground between my feet; the fellow immediately flung down his musket and run for it, but was pursued by the adjutant on horseback, and being a stout fellow, he took the adjutant by the foot, threw him out of the faddle, and was just going to mount, when the major came up with and fecured him. But to return; the enemy by our delay, got time tocut down the wood, and entrench themselves; in the evening we converfed with the French officers, and entertained each other with fuch fare as we had, in a very friendly manner; this we were the more induced to, from a perfuasion on both fides, that a ceffation of arms was to take place previous to a peace, but we were undeceived by midnight, when every man had orders to repair to his post, and prepare to engage the enemy early next morning.

On the 11th, at two in the morning, we attended at. prayers, and then prepared by forming in the order of battle; about eight we advanced and attacked their entrenchments, which we carried, driving the enemy with great diforder and confusion in their trenches, out of which we beat them, with numbers flain on both fides: the regiment our's was engaged with, happened to be that with whose officers we had been fo focial the night before, and in it was a lieutenant, who had a brother a lieutenant in our's, and who was with us, a French refugee; the lieutenant in the French regiment, furrendered himself a prisoner to his brother, and was affectionately received under his protection; but unfortunately, at the very instant, a soldier of our's ran him through the body, and killed him in his brother's arms:

the

1709.

BOOK I. the fellow alledged in excuse for himself, that he did it to protect his officer, not knowing the other; yet he had feen the brothers the evening before converfing together as fuch. Fatal mistakes occur too frequently in the fury and rage of contending foes, met on purpose to conquer or die, nor is it possible to brand this poor fellow with any foul defign on this occasion: - but to my story. The French retiring over a hedge, we purfued them close, and finding them reinforced, we were obliged to retire in our turn, and making our way back through the hedge, we loft our colonel and feveral of our men; but being supported by our line of referve, we were enabled to force the enemy a fecond time from the hedge, and to drive them to their fecond entrenchment, from which we also dislodged them, and pursued them to their third, where I found myself shot through the leg, and was obliged to be carried out of the field, and arriving at a little cot, I there found the corpfe of my colonel, and got my wound dreffed. After a very close engagement of fix hours, the enemy gave way, and left us masters of a dear bought field, which cost us not less than 20,300 men. The particulars of this famous battle of Malplaquet, having been fo well described by better pens, I shall say no more of it, only that the enemy lost, by their own confession, 540 officers killed, 1068 wounded, 301 taken prisoners; and 15000 men killed, wounded, and taken. We had two generals killed, counts Lottum and Fettace.

After this action, it was currently reported that marshal Villars was for hazarding another battle to prevent our taking Mons, but was opposed in it by marshal Boussleur; and that the king of France had sent the duke of Berwick to deter-

determine upon the different opinions of these two able ge- BOOK I. nerals, upon the fpot. His grace came, and viewing the ground with their late entrenchments, expressed his surprize at their extraordinary strength, declaring, as they had been beaten out of that post, they must be very rash indeed to venture an engagement on the open field.

1709.

While the furgeon was attending the wound which confined me, he told me a diverting story of a young Swifs recruit, who, when his regimentals were making, had procured a round iron plate bordered with fmall holes, which he defired the taylor to fasten on the inside of his coat, above his left breast, to prevent his being shot through the heart: the taylor being a humourous fellow, fastened it in the seat of his breeches, and the clothes being scarce on his back when he was ordered to march into the field, having no opportunity to get this aukward mistake rectified, before he found himself engaged in battle, and being obliged to fly before the enemy, and in endeavouring to get over a thorn hedge in his way, he unfortunately stuck fast till he was overtaken by a foe, who, on his coming up, gave him a push in the breech with his bayonet, (with no friendly defign), but it luckily hit on the iron-plate, and pushed the young foldier clear out of the hedge; this favourable circumstance made the Swifs honestly confess, that the taylor had more fense than himself, and knew better where his heart lay, But to nobler deeds.

Our eminent leaders well knowing their advantage by a Siege of reputation for habitually beating the enemy, immediately Mons. invested Mons, and the trenches were opened on the 25th, under the command of the prince of Nassau; and, notwith-

standing.

pushed on till the 20th of October, when this town also furrendered, and the garrison marched out 8000 men, befides 1000 that were lest behind, and afterwards enlisted in our army.

The victory at Malplaquet, and the taking of Tournay and Mons, finishing this campaign, our army separated, and went into quarters for the winter. Our regiment went to Maestricht; and not being yet recovered of my wound, I was obliged to travel in a waggon with eight wounded soldiers, under the care of a serjeant, to Brussels; in the evening of the 20th, we arrived at Notre Dame de Hall, half-way between Mons and Bruffels, where one of our wheels broke, and the waggoner hearing that there was 'a party of French in the town, thought proper to fet off with his horses; the French having got notice of us, came, and after enquiring for the horses, and finding they were gone, fat out in pursuit of them: happily for me, I had formerly been fome time in this place, and was pretty well known to the people, who conveved me to a place of fafety, which, for once, faved me from being stripped; the party returning, stript the eight wounded foldiers, and carried the ferjeant a prisoner to Namur: the ferjeant, on his arrival there, was examined by the governor, whom he informed that he had been on duty, conducting these wounded men to the hospital at Brussels, and that the French party had stripped them naked, and plundered them of a month's pay. The governor feverely reprimanded the officer, telling him, he ought rather to have affisted the poor defenceless wounded men, than to have used them in the manner he

had done: and ordered him to restore both the cloaths and BOOK I. money to the ferjeant, and fent the ferjeant, under his own pass, to Maestricht: A piece of generous humanity seldom met with in an enemy. Being still ill of my wound, I determined to remain at Hall, although it was an open place, and visited almost every day by parties of the French: here I was attended by an able furgeon, who having none but myself under his care, had the more time to observe the various effects of his treatment of the wound, which could not have been the case had I proceeded to Brussels, where every place was full of the wounded of our army. While I continued here, I met with great kindness from the clergy of the place; but I staid no longer than I was able to walk with crutches, when I obtained a French pass, and moved to Maestricht, where I found a lieutenant's commission waiting for me.

Early in the month of April 1710, we left our winter- 1710. quarters, and on the 15th, arrived near Tournay, the place paign. of our general rendezvous; and on the 20th, the army being formed, was ordered to march at five o'clock in the afternoon, and marched all night in two columns. Our motion was fo fudden, fo fecret, and fo regularly conducted, that we entered the French lines next morning, without the smallest resistance: so little did they apprehend this morning vifit, that they were out foraging. Our appearance spread such an alarm amongst their troops near Lens, that they made a very hafty retreat, and we encamped in their room upon the plains of Lens.

On the 22d, early in the morning, we laid our bridges over the Scarp, and the whole army passed the same night,

E

Siege of Doway.

BOOK I. and next morning we invested Doway; on the 2 sth, we began our lines of circumvallation, and were joined by the prince of Anhalt Desfau, who succeeded count Lottum in the command of the Prussian troops, and now commanded one of the attacks against the town, and the prince of Nassau the other; on the 29th, our lines were finished, when our cavalry had provided a great number of fascines and gabions for the siege; on the 1st of May, our troops took possession of the castle of Pignonville, and on the 3d, Chateaux-Loway, where 340 men furrendered themselves prisoners; the 4th, our trenches were opened at both attacks, and our men were covered without any lofs, as they were not perceived at their work from the town; the 9th, at ten at night, the enemy made a vigorous fally at the prince of Naslau's attack, which put the workmen in great disorder, and levelled some parts of the parallel, but they were at last repulsed with considerable loss, and purfued to the very counterscarp; the action was fo very hot that we lost 300 men killed, or wounded, in it, and, perhaps, the enemy were not better off: the parallel was repaired the fame night, and next morning, at day-break, a battery of eight guns, and four mortars, began to play with great fury, from prince Anhalt's attack, upon a sconce in the morals, which had greatly annoyed us by flanking our approaches: it was now foon difmounted. They made a fally the same night on our fide, but were repulfed with confiderable lofs. Our heavy artillery arrived on the 10th, and on the 11th, a battery was completed on each attack, each mounting twenty-four guns and eight mortars; the 12th, our approaches were advanced to the first ditch; the 14th, our 6 batteries

batteries being completed, and mounted with forty-eight BOOK I. guns, and thirty-two mortars and howitzers, we began to play on the enemy's outworks, but chiefly from the prince of Anhalt's fide, as the ground in the other was fo boggy. that they could not approach there with fuch regularity. The enemy made a fally on the 17th, but were fo warmly received, that they retired in great confusion, leaving above 100 prisoners behind them; on the 21st, they made another, in which a great many fell on both fides. army was now firongly entrenched in their lines to prevent the enemy from harraffing us in the fiege, as they outnumbered us by 10,000 men, and we had reason, from their continual motions, from the 26th to the 30th, to believe that they meant to attack us, and oblige us to raise the fiege; but on the 30th, they encamped within gun-shot of our entrenchments, which flackened our progress in the fiege, as every regiment that could possibly be spared was taken off to strengthen the army. The enemy continued four days in this polition without offering to disturb us. when marshal Villars thought proper to retire to a league diftant from us; upon which the befieging regiments returned to their posts, and we now again pushed on the fiege with all possible vigour. The enemy made frequent fallies, and fprung feveral mines, which, however, did not prevent us from making ourselves masters of the counterfearp on the 5th of June; and on the 17th, we stormed and tock a ravelin, and after filling the moat with fafcines, we laid our bridges to the main breach of the town: on the night of the 22d, the trenches were opened at Fort-Scarp, which was a regular pentagon; and on the E 2 25th,

1710.

chamade, and furrendered both town and fort on the 26th.
The besieged had upwards of 3,000 men killed, and our loss was 8,000 killed and wounded. On the 29th, the marquis d'Albergotti marched out at the head of his garrison, consisting of 4,527 effective men: general Hompesh was made governor of the town, and brigadier des Roques, the chief engineer, was made commandant of Fort-Scarp.

Siege of Be-

After a few days relaxation from fuch hard duty, we marched with an intention to besiege Arras, which the enemy perceiving, entered their new lines, and thereby prevented us; and then the fiege of Bethune became the object, and was invested on the 15th of July; the trenches were opened the 23d for two attacks, the one by general Schuylenburg, the other by general Fagel. The French army made a feint as if they meant to relieve the town, but finding us ready prepared to receive them, they were fatisfied with showing themselves, and withdrew to their lines. The fiege advanced briskly; on the 29th, they made a fally at Fagel's attack, where they almost destroyed a regiment of Prussian guards, who had unluckily fired upon them all at once, and having no fire in referve, the enemy poured in upon them with great destruction: our regiment marched quickly up to their affiftance, and faved them from being entirely cut off. There happened, the same day, a fad misfortune to fix officers of a Scotch regiment, who were fitting in a row on the banquet, and had their legs all shot off by a cannon-ball, except one, who saved one of his by having it on the banquet; and he was the

A fad miffortune to fix Scotch officers.

only one who furvived the rough amputation, the rest died BOOK I. of their wounds: this ill-fated ball came from one of our own guns at Schuylenburg's attack, directed at a bastion, but unhappily missing that object, the ball flanked our own-The town threw a great number of bombs at our batteries, but falling short, they dropped, for the most part, into our approaches, which kept us who were employed there in perpetual motion to shun them. One day I happened to step into a demolished cellar, on a necessary occasion, when I had scarce well got there, till the centry called out, "Gare la bombe," and down it came into the cellar, and I made the best of my way out of it, which I had fcarce cleared till it burst, and threw down a great quantity of stones and rubbish about me, but I escaped unhurt. The garrifon beat the chamade on the 28th of August, and on the 31st, M. de Vauban marched out at the head of 1,700 men remaining of the garrison, having lost near 2000. It cost us 3,665 men, killed and wounded: major general Keppel was appointed governor.

The fieges of Aire and St. Venant came next in our route; Sieges of we marched on the 2d, and they were both invested on the Aire and St. Venant. 5th of September. The prince of Anhalt commanded the fiege of Aire, and the prince of Nassau that of St. Venant. About this time the enemy intercepted a convoy of our's. coming up the river Lys in boats with warlike stores and provisions, which they took and destroyed, killed and wounded a great number of the efcort, and took 800 prifoners: this, however, did not retard the fieges a moment, for St. Venant furrendered on the 30th, and Mr. Bruyn, the engineer, was appointed governor; we lost 940 men, killed

and

BOOK I and wounded at this fiege. The French governor was afterwards committed to the Bastile for his bad behaviour.

At Aire the trenches were opened the 12th of September for two attacks; on the 21st, the besieged made a fally, in which they were repulfed with the lofs of 40 men; the 22d, we took a redoubt with little opposition: at this time marshal Villars refigned the command of the French army to marshal Harcourt, who was fent by the king for that purpose. The 8th of October we took another redoubt, fword in hand, and at night made ourfelves mafters of the covert-way: after much labour and fatigue to us, the enemy beat a parley on the 3d of November, and on the 12th, general Goesbriant, the governor, marched out at the head of 3,628 men, besides 1,500 wounded left in the town; our loss on this occasion was 7,000 men, killed and wounded; count Naffau Woudenburg was appointed governor of this town, and our whole army marched to the plains of Lifle, where they separated on the 15th of November, and went into winter-quarters; and thus ended this campaign, and the last I served in this country.

Perhaps no age or country, not even excepting those fields still famous for the celebrated victories of Julius Cæsar, can parallel the rapid success of the combined arms in these wars; they were continually conquering armies of superior numbers of well-disciplined troops, abundantly supplied with every warlike weapon and engine of destruction, and commanded by generals of renowned martial knowledge and experience, and still beating them from plain to plain: neither could they find a refuge in their strong walled cities and towns, well fortissed with every additional strength of

out-works; these fell by numbers in each campaign, and BOOK I. the conquering heroes shine illustrious in every page of martial story, grateful to the eye and ear of youthful ardour, and pleasing to the wish of military ambition. But we shall not find them deserving such admiration in the lines of civil life, where humanity constrains us to commiferate the childless parent and the helpless orphan, the fevered brother, and the widowed dame's bewailed loss of many dear connections; and friends lamenting friends, whose lives were facrificed to raife the structure of the hero's fame, built on the havock of the defolating fword; unsheathed on this occasion by the boundless ambition of that aspiring prince, whom nothing could please short of universal monarchy, Lewis the Fourteenth, but was at length obliged to fit down with Gallic fovereignty.

Tournay, of which the earl of Albemarle was now go-Terrible flory An affair of the Jesuits. vernor, became our quarters for this winter. happened here a little while before, in the Jesuits college, which amazed the whole town. A shoemaker, near the college, having a handsome wife, one of the sanctified fathers made frequent vifits to bespeak shoes and slippers for himself and others of the fraternity; at length, giving anorder, he defired the fair dame, when they were done, to bring them home to the cloifter, and receive the payment for them, and the accordingly carried them; the was admitted into the house, but never returned, which much alarmed the poor husband and his neighbours, who were. naturally led to enquire after her at the college, when they were told, that she had received the money and went away again: as the veracity of these fathers was held sacred, no body:

BOOK I body durst presume any farther enquiry at the college, and the woman could not be found. Some few days after, a boy in the night-time getting into a garden, next to that of the lefuits, to steal fruit, saw from the top of a tree (being moonlight) there very holy fathers bufy in burying a corpfe in the garden. The boy, knowing that the woman could not be found, told his father what he had feen; the father, who lived in the neighbourhood of the shoemaker, immediately acquainted him of it, and they both, with the boy, went to the governor, who, upon their information, fent for the magistrates, and they proceeded altogether to the Jesuits college; upon going into the garden, the boy directed to the spot where he had seen the corpse buried: upon digging there they found the body of the poor woman with her throat cut, and all her clothes torn in pieces. The fathers declared their ignorance and innocence of the whole matter, charging the foul deed upon two of their fociety who had disappeared. This was all the redress the poor man could get for the loss of his wife, notwithstanding the boy declared there were eight of them at burying the body. The shoemaker, his neighbour, and his son, thought it prudent to retire to Holland, where they turned Protestants, to avoid the merciless vengeance of these facred fathers. This story was told me by feveral officers, who were at that time in garrifon here.

## BOOK II.

He goes into the Russian service, a captain .- Overtakes general Bruce at Prus-Holland.—A curious story of a man at Elbing.—They arrive at Jaweroff, where the Czar is privately married .- General Bruce's rank and honours. - Account of the Russian army. - Their numbers and cloathing .- Expedition against the Turks-Council of war at the Neister .--Prince Cantamire joins them without any troops. - A favarm of locusts. -The Turks appear -The Russians form on the river Pruth. -Engage the Turks three days .- The czarina faves the whole army and prince Cantamire. - The king of Sweden upbraids the grand vizier. - The Russians return .- Colonel Pitt's lady and daughter carried off by the Tartars-The grand feignior approves the treaty.—Captain Bruce fent express to Constantinople. - Description of that city. - Its mosques. - Accommodations for strangers .- Strength .- The seraglio .- Scutari, a fine View .-The port and barbour.—Suburbs.—Arfenal.—Air and climate.—The Turks contrasted .- Domestic Accommodations .- Internal government of the country. - Religion. - Worship. - The plague. - Their games. - Diet. -Rest.-Exercise of their youth -Dress of their ladies.-Ointment of Pilo. - Their predominant interest. - Matrimonial privilege. - Concubine marriage.—Policy of their religion.—Severities on the amorous stranger. -Their laws for debt. - In criminal cases. - Their punishments. - The channel of the captain's information.—New difficulties to the Treaty at the Pruth.—Change of ministry.—A fresh treaty.—Fresh interruption to the peace. - Against which the czar remonstrates .- Ministry again changed.—The Russian ambassador, &c. sent to the Seven Towers.— Mighty preparations for war, which end against the king of Sweden at Bender.—Reflexions.

HIS winter I received an invitation from general BOOK II.

Bruce \*, of the ordnance, at Moscow, to enter into

the service of the czar, if I should wish, or think it ad-He goes into
the Russian

<sup>\*</sup> This general Bruce was grandfon to James, who left Scotland with fervice captain.

my grandfather.

BOOK II. viseable to quit that of Prussia; and acquainted me that he was then at Elbing, in Prussia; where he would be for 1710. fome time, so that if I accepted his offer, I might reach him before he left that place. Pleasing as the idea was to myfelf. I could form no resolution in the matter before I had consulted my relations at Berlin, whose friendship I had already experienced, and it was by their unanimous confent and advice, that I determined to accept of his invitation, and having obtained leave to quit the Pruffian fervice, with the rank of captain, I prepared for my departure, and left Tournay on the 25th of March, 1711. I took'the route of 1711. Oudenard, Ghent, and Sass, and came to Rotterdam the 30th; from thence I proceeded by Delft and the Hague, and got to Amsterdam the 1st of April, and took shipping in a Dutch vessel for Koningsberg. We passed the Texel on the 13th, and entering the Sound on the 2d of May, we anchored at Pillaw the 7th, after above a month's passage: this is a harbour and fort belonging to the king of Prussia. I directly waited on the governor, who told me, he had a letter from general Bruce, defiring him, when I came there, to ferward me to Elbing; but the governor, thinking the general would not fo foon leave that place, intreated me to

told the governor, that he was informed by a gentleman just come from Elbing, that the general was to leave it that fame day: this fixed my immediate departure, and taking a boat for the opposite shore, I got on horseback,

stay with him a day or two, to give him the particulars of the last campaign. After dinner, an officer came in, who

and arrived at Elbing in the evening, where I found the general had fat off in the afternoon, having received

an

an express from the czar to join him with the utmost BOOK II. expedition.

1711.

Major-general Balck, the governor of Elbing, told me, general Bruce had defired him, on my arrival there, to forward me immediately after him; fo I took horse directly, in a very dark night, and overtook him next morn- overtakes geing, the 9th of May, at Pruss-Holland, just as he was at Prus-Holpreparing to proceed on his journey, He received me very land. kindly, and feeing me much fatigued, defired me now to travel in his own fleeping waggon, where, indeed, I flept all day long, having neither refted, nor tafted victuals. from my dining with the governor of Pillaw. This machine is in every respect a chariot, only the bottom is extended sufficient to suffer one to lie at full length on a bed; and I found afterwards every officer, in the Ruffian army, provides himself with one of them, which is very necessary on their long marches through ill-accommodated countries. General Bruce had engaged feveral officers of our artillery into the Russian service, two of them for engineers.

On our journey, the general entertained me with a story which happened during his stay at Elbing, where he faved an old man from being burnt: this old man had an only fon, who was a druggist in town, to whom he had given all he had in the world, upon condition that he should maintain his father while he lived: the fon had behaved pretty well to him, but his wife treated the old man in fuch a cruel manner, that he was obliged to leave the house and board himself, for which the son, at the instigation of his wife, refused to pay, and the people with whom he

lived.

BOOK II. lived, threatened to throw him into prison: this undutiful treatment fo affected the old man that he turned quite frantic, and in his madness wrote an obligation with his own blood to furrender himself, soul and body, to the devil, if he, in exchange, would give him a certain fum of money: this was the essay on the part of the old man toward the agreement, and to found the devil's fentiments on the fubject, he carried this paper to the croffing of two roads, apprehending that the most likely place to meet him, and there he made a hole and deposited the obligation: returning feveral times to the spot, to see if the devil had accepted his bill, and finding no money, he grew quite out of humour with the devil, and exclaimed bitterly against him; fome labourers at work hard by, observing his repeated vifits to that fpot, went to it when he was gone, and dug up the paper, which they carried to the magistrates: the old man was taken up, tried, and fentenced to be burnt. The general being informed of the whole story, interested himself for the old man, and convinced both the magistrates and judges, that his prefent diffressed situation, and dread of future want, had driven the poor old man delirious, and that not he, but his unnatural fon, was the object of punishment: the experiment was easy, and the truth would foon discover itself: the old man was set at liberty, the son bound to pay his board quarterly, and the effect foon justified the measure by his father's return to his reason and judgment.

They come to the czar at Jaweroff, where he is privately married.

On the 17th, we arrived at Warfaw, and at Jaweroff on the 29th, where we found the czar and czarina, and there they were privately married, at which ceremony the gene-

ral

ral was prefent, and upon this occasion he was made master-BOOK II. general of the ordnance, in the room of the prince of Melita, who died a prisoner in Sweden. General Bruce General was at this time knight of four orders, viz. St. Andrew, Bruce's rank and honours. the White Eagle, the Black Eagle, and the Elephant; and here I received my commission as captain in the artillery, and engineer. I went from hence to Lemberg to get myfelf equipped with the uniforms of my new corps, and was recommended to a merchant there of the name of Gordon, who shewed me a great deal of civility. When I returned to Jaweroff the army broke up, and we went in his maiesty's retinue to Soroka, upon the river Neister, where we joined the Russian army. This place is fix hundred miles fouth from Elbing.

The Russian army is commanded by a field marshal, and Account of in his absence by the general of the ordnance, who has un-Rushan army. der him a lieutenant general and major-general: the regiment of artillery confifts of 2,400 bombardiers, gunners, miners, and matroffes; besides every battalion of the army is attended by one field-piece, a three-pounder. The army is reckoned by divisions, each confisting of nine regiments, one of which is grenadiers; each division is commanded by a general, a lieutenant-general, a major-general, and a brigadier. A regiment confifts of two battalions, or eight companies, and is commanded by a colonel, a lieutenantcolonel, and two majors; and a company confifts of 150 private, commanded by one captain, two lieutenants, one enfign, two ferjeants, one sub-enfign; and has besides, one captain at arms, one quarter-master, one clerk, a surgeonbarber, two drums, one timberman, five denzigs (or offi-

BOOK II. cers fervants), and fourteen waggoners; making in all 183: each company has their own feparate colours, there being four to every battalion. The generals have no regiments, nor the field officers, companies; nor have the captains, the paving, clothing, arming, and recruiting of their companies: this is performed by a commissary, or paymaster; the necessary recruits are demanded from and provided by the governors of the different provinces. A regiment takes its name from the town or province where they were first raised, which name they always retain, excepting the regiments of grenadiers, which bear the name of the commanding general of the division; the companies of a regiment are commonly distinguished by numbers, from the 1st to the 8th; they always charge in battle four men deep, the two foremost ranks kneeling. The czar's own division, at this time, consisted of four regiments, each of which have a company of grenadiers, which no other regiment has; the first of these regiments was that called Prebrafinsky, of four battalions; the second that of Samenoffky, of three battalions; the third that of Ingermanlandsky, three battalions; and the fourth, that of Astrachansky, of two battalions; in all thirteen battalions, including the four companies of grenadiers; each company of this division has a captain-lieutenant additional: there were likewise in his majesty's division two other grenadier companies, who were bombardiers, gunners, and miners. Each battalion of the army has at least one officer that is an engineer.

Their numbers and cloathing.

The forces of Russia, including garrisons, consist of 200,000 foot, and 100,000 cavalry; besides Cossack and Kalmuck

Kalmuck Tartars, who can, upon occasion, bring 150,000 BOOK II. men into the field. All the army wear white cockades; the horse are clad in blue, faced with scarlet; the foot in green, faced with fearlet; and the artillery in fearlet, with blue facings.

1711.

The army, which we joined at Soroka, confifted of five divisions, of 6,000 men each, commanded by count Zeremetof, field-marshal; the first was the czar's own divifion, the fecond general Weyde's, the third prince Repnin's, the fourth general Hallard's, and the fifth general Rentzel's; in all 30,000 foot, attended by a very numerous train of artillery, and intended for an expedition against the Turks. We were to have been joined by 30,000 dragoons, who had been detached to destroy a magazine erected by the Turks upon the Neister, a little above Bender, which fervice they performed, and beat the Turks there, but were prevented from joining us, as we did not wait their return: besides these, there were 50,000 Kalmuck Tartars, and 20,000 Cossacks in full march to have joined us, and with these reinforcements we should have been 130,000 strong.

His majesty being now resolved to march upon that ex- Expedition pedition, without waiting the junction of the rest of his against the Turks. forces, issued a general order for all the women, who attended the army to be fent away: the czarina, however, infifted on attending his majesty in the expedition, which was granted, and the generals petitioned her to obtain the fame liberty for their wives, that they might attend her majesty, which was also granted; and the rest of the officers wives, conceiving themselves equally entitled to the indulgence,

cumstance, although it considerably augmented the train of our baggage, proved in the end a very fortunate one.

Our prefent sudden march seems to have been occasioned by the fecret engagements of Brancoven, prince of Moldavia, who undertook not only to join us with his whole forces, but to provide us plentifully with provisions and forage, both which were foon out of his power; for the grand feignor coming at the knowledge of this intended revolt, divested him of his principality, and gave it to Cantamire, prince of Wallachia, with orders to him to feize Brancoven, and fend him to Constantinople; and with orders at the same time to throw a bridge over the Danube. to facilitate the passage of the Turkish army to oppose us: but the Turk was disappointed as well as we; for some of their principal men using Cantamire extremely ill, he protracted the building of the bridge instead of hastening it; and in the mean time dispatched an officer to the czar, praying him to join him with all expedition with 30,000 men, which number he thought would be fufficient, with his own troops, to prevent the Turks from passing the The czar having just been disappointed, if not deceived, by Brancoven (for he afterwards made a merit of it to the Turk), could place no confidence in the fincerity of Cantamire, nor was it fufficiently understood, till it was too late to prevent their passing that river.

Council of war at the Neitter.

On the 14th of June, our army passed the Neister, when his majesty called a council of war, which was held in general Bruce's tent, when prince Cantamire's letter was read; the czar then mentioned his intention to march forward, without

without waiting the junction of the rest of the troops; all BOOK II. the generals expressed their approbation of the measure. except general Hallard, who faid nothing. The czar obferving his filence, ordered him to declare his mind, and give him his opinion freely: the general replied, that as the council were fo unanin ous he never would have made any objection, had not his majesty insisted on his declaring his fentiments; he then frankly told the czar, he was very much surprised that the king of Sweden's misfortune did not ferve as a fufficient warning; for that prince had been missed by the advice of the traytor Mazeppe: he could not help thinking our present state was a similar one; "The " prince of Moldavia has already disappointed us, and for " any fecurity we have; the prince of Wallachia may do the " fame; for although he should mean well himself, yet he " may want the power to ferve us; for it is to be feared his "troops, who have long been used to the Turkish govern-"ment, will not enter into his fentiments."—And this proved to be exactly the case.

The march, however, was refolved on, and we fat out the same night to avoid the intense heat of the day, and continued to march for three nights through a barren defart heath, without a drop of water all the way, which was feverely felt both by man and beaft. On the 18th, we arrived. at the river Pruth, where we lost a number of our baggagehorses by their drinking too plentifully of the water; we passed the river on the 19th, near Jassey, the capital and refidence of the prince of Moldavia. At this place, prince Prince Canta-Cantamire joined us in person with very few attendants, both them without. the Walachian and Moldavian troops having left him for any troops,

1711. A fwarm of locults

The Turks appear.

BOOK II. fear of the Turks. We continued our march down the - Pruth till the 21st, when we met a prodigious swarm of locusts, which, at their rising, overshadowed the whole army like a cloud; they had not only deftroyed the grass of the fields, but also the tender bark and leaves of the trees; here again we lost a number of our carriage-cattle for want of forage; it was very remarkable that the locusts never left our army, and we no fooner pitched our tents than they came down and covered the whole camp; we tried by firing cannon and fmall arms, and burning trains of powder on the ground to chase them away, but all in vain; they attended us on our march along the river till the 27th, when we discovered the Turkish army crossing the Pruth. Upon this, general Janus was detached with a body of troops, and twelve pieces of cannon, to dispute their passage; but he was too late, for half their army had passed before he could get up to them, fo that he found it prudent to retreat to the army. It was very furprifing, that we had not the least intelligence of so numerous an army, which consisted of no less than 200,000 men, till they were within fight of 11s.

The Ruffians form on the river Pruth.

Our army drew up in order of battle, at some distance from the river, in hopes to bring them to an engagement; but they kept out of the reach of our cannon, and extending their numerous army, endeavoured to furround us, and cut us off from the river. We remained under arms till night, and being convinced of their intention, we made a very disorderly retreat to secure the river, our divisions being all separated from each other in the dark, and as we were now greatly deficient in horses, we burnt a number of

our

our baggage waggons, that they should not fall into the BOOK II. enemy's hands; and it was furprifing, that from the number of fires that were blazing in the night, the enemy did not perceive our confusion, which afforded them a fine opportunity to have destroyed our whole army, and they might eafily have done it with a small part of theirs; but happily for us they feemed to pay greater attention to their own fafety than our destruction, for they happened to be very bufy entrenching themselves, by which means we escaped their notice. At day-break, our scattered troops were again put in order, and our army formed into a hollow square, the river serving for the fourth side, which enabled us to give our square a larger extent; and our waggons were formed into an inclosure within, for the protection of the ladies.

On the other fide of the river, and opposite to us, the Crim Tartars were placed, where the king of Sweden had pitched his tent to discover the motions of our army. The Tartars annoyed us much in watering, but bringing a few pieces of cannon to play upon them, they were foon obliged to keep at a distance. Our army was surrounded by a cheveaux de frize, which was the only protection we had.

The Turkish army furrounded us on all fides, with a de- Engage the fign to starve us into a furrender, and this they certainly days. would have done in a short time, had they not been too eager in attacking us, which they did three days and three nights together; but fortunately for us, they attacked only one fide of our square at a time, which enabled us to relieve our wearied troops, from time to time, as they became harraffed with fatigue, and it also enabled us to use our

1711.

them, and luckily they had none to annoy us with, as theirs was not yet arrived.

The czarina faves the whole army and prince Cantamire.

On the fourth day, the czar, being informed that our ammunition was all spent to three charges of cannon and fmall-arms, ordered all the officers in the army, with a number of felect men, to mount on horseback and attend his person; his intention was to force his way through the Turkish army in the night, and to go through Transilvania into Hungary: but the czarina coming to the knowledge of this dangerous resolution, and foreseeing the hazard that would attend the czar, and the lofs and difgrace that would fall upon his arms and army, very luckily hit upon a better expedient, which faved us all from destruction. She collected all the money, plate, and jewels which were in the army, for which she gave her own receipt and obligation to pay the respective owners, and with this valuable present she had the address to prevail on the grand vizier to conclude a peace, and the transaction was immediately finished in the name of the field-marshal, without the czar's knowledge who was just going to set out on his very dangerous expedition, which her majesty stopped by telling him, that the grand vizier had agreed to conclude a peace on reasonable terms. This piece of confummate female discretion was followed by a most punctual discharge of her obligations for the plate, &c. on her geturn home. The principal conditions of the peace, on our part, were to deliver up to the Turks, Azoph, Taiganrog, and Caminiek, and that our troops should evacuate Poland; for the performance of which, the vice-chancellor Schafirof.

Schafirof, and major-general count Zeremetof, were deli- BOOK IL vered as hostages. They insisted also, that prince Cantamire of Moldavia should be delivered up to them; but were told, that the prince had left our camp; which, indeed, was believed by most of ourselves; for the treaty was no fooner thought on, than the czarina shut him up in her own coach, which was known only to the fervant who carried him his victuals. The czar ever afterwards entertained a great regard for prince Cantamire, and gave him feveral landed estates both in Russia and the Ukraine, befides fettling a pension of 20,000 rubles a year upon him.

1711.

The king of Sweden hearing of this peace, went with The king of the cham of Tartary who was at that time strongly inte-Sweden upbraids the rested in his favour, to the grand vizier, to know why he grand vizier. had concluded a peace so hastily, when he had it in his power to have made the czar and his whole army prisoners. The vizier informed him, that as the fultan had vested him with full powers for war or peace, he could not refuse them peace, feeing they defired it upon terms honourable to the grand feignor, and by which he had gained more than could have been expected. The king answered, that if he had carried the czar a prisoner to Constantinople, they could then have obliged him to grant what terms they pleased; and told the vizier, if he would now give him 20,000 of his best troops, he would yet recover the opportunity that had been neglected, and was on the point of being lost for ever. The grand vizier replied, "God preserve us from breaking a treaty of " peace without any reason, as I have already accepted the " hostages for the performance of it." Poniatossky, a Polish

king now filent, answered, "There is still a remedy without breaking the treaty, which is to put the king at "the head of 20 or 30,000 of your best troops, whereby

" he may stop the czar, and oblige him to a more honour" able peace before he proceeds any farther:" The vizier
then said, " This scems to me at least an indirect vio-

" lation of the treaty, in which it is provided, that the king

" may return into his own dominions, through the czar's territories, with a strong convoy of Turks, after which,

"if he pleafes, he may make peace with the czar." The king looked full at the grand vizier, and laughed in his

face, without making any answer; but in retiring, he turned fo short on his heel, that he tore the vizier's robe with his spur, and mounting his horse, he went off highly displeased: he then concerted measures with the cham to attack us

with his Tartars on our march, of which the vifier being informed, reinforced us with 30,000 spahis, the best ca-

valry in the Turkish service, to conduct us to the Neister: the vizier sent us also several waggon-loads of provisions as

a present to our army.

The Russians return under the escort of a bassa.

Matters being thus accommodated, we decamped on the 2d of July, in good order, with drums beating and colours flying: our artillery and baggage marched between us and the river, and our chevaux de frize were carried, each by two men, between us and the Turks, to be in readiness in case the Tartars had persevered in their plan to attack us:

Colonel Pitt's we marched this day in view of the Turkish army. At lady and daughter carried off by the Tartars. his wife and daughter, beautiful women, by the breaking

of

of one of their coach-wheels; by this accident, they were BOOK II. left fo far in the rear, that the Tartars seized and carried them off. The colonel addressed himself to the grand vizier, who ordered a strict enquiry to be made, but to no purpose. The colonel being afterwards informed that they were both carried to Constantinople, and presented to the grand feignor, obtained a pass, and went there in search of them, and getting acquainted with a Jew doctor, who was physician to the seraglio, the doctor told him there had been two fuch ladies as he described, lately presented to the fultan; but that when any of the fex were once taken into the feraglio, they were never fuffered to come out again. The colonel, nevertheless, tried every expedient he could devife to recover his wife, if he could not get both, till becoming outrageous by repeated disappointment, and very clamourous, they shut him up in a dungeon, and it was with much difficulty he got released by the intercession of some of the ambassadors at the court; and was afterwards told by the Jew doctor, that they both died of the plague: with which information he was obliged to content himfelf and return home.

The grand feignor receiving the news of the peace, and The grand the advantages he had thereby acquired, ordered public forger approves the rejoicings for three days, and testified his approbation of treaty. the vizier's conduct, not only in the reception he gave him, but by complimentary letters and magnificent prefents. For want of horses our march was so slow, that it was the 11th of July before we reached Stepanowa, when we croffed tile Pruth, and on the 14th arrived at the Neister, after a short, but very dangerous campaign. Next day we croffed this

BOOK II. river and reached the camp where we found our dragoons, Cossacks, and Tartars, who were now rejoiced at our fafe return, having heard very difmal accounts of us. The baffa, who escorted us here, faid when he saw these troops, that if they had joined us, we should have been an over-match for the Turkith army. Our army now separated and took different routes: the czar fet out for Germany, taking general Bruce with him, but not before he had wrote fresh instructions for baron Schafirof, and difpatched them by express for Constantinople, of which I was the bearer; fo that I returned with the bassa who had conducted us to this place, and who had now only 2000 troops, the rest having left us on the disappearing of the Tartars. The fultan, upon the representations of the king of Sweden, had, in the mean time, twice broke this peace, and renewed it again with the same ease; this was apprehended, and occasioned the instructions I now carried.

Captain Bruce fent express to Constantinople.

> On our way to Adrianople, I received many civilities from the basia, and we arrived there the 2d of August, where we found baron Schafirof and count Zeremetof; and who foon after fat out with us for Constantinople; where we arrived the 25th, being met at some distance from the city by count Tolftoi, our ambaffador, who had been confined in the Seven Towers ever fince the declaration of the war, but was now released.

A description of that city.

This city is fituated on a point, or tongue of land; that jets out into the sea, it is of a triangular form, and fourteen miles in circumference; the houses are generally built of wood, and the streets so narrow, that in most of them, two loaded horses cannot go a-breast; and the houses project

with ease step out of the window of one house into the

fo much at the upper parts, that in many places one may BOOK II.

window of another on the opposite side of the street: this capital error in building the city does not feem to have proceeded from want of room, for it abounds in gardens and large squares and courts; and it is owing to this circumstance that a fire is always attended with such devastation, for it burns with irrefiftible fury till fome garden or fquare puts a stop to its progress. The most regular part of this city is the Besestin, inclosed with walls and gates. where the merchants have their shops, which are ranged and disposed in such excellent order, that a buyer may dispatch his business in a quarter of an hour; every trade has its own separate department in the place; the gates are shut every night at ten o'clock. In another part of the city is the Hippodrome, an oblong square of four hundred paces by two hundred, where they exercise on horseback: towards the end, opposite to the seraglio, are two obelisks: the first consists of one stone seventy feet high, and stands on a square pedestal of marble, adorned with several hieroglyphical figures in relievo; the other is a spiral pyramid

built of free stone, without any ornament or inscription; near these stands the serpentine column, a brazen pillar of considerable height; it is composed of three serpents wreathed and twisted together, with their tails on the ground, and ending at top with three gaping heads and forked tongues, expressive of hissing. At some distance from this are two other columns, in a large court appointed for the exercise of the bow and arrow, where the archers very frequently hit a mark not bigger than a shilling, at the distance of

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FOOK II. an hundred paces. The Meidan, or parade, is a very large fpacious square, and is the place of general resort of all ranks.

Its mosques.

Among the principal mosques, or churches, in this city, the first is that of St. Sophia, formerly a Christian church; it is an hundred and twenty paces long and eighty broad; on each fide is a portico, supported by thirty columns, each fixteen feet high, ornamented with very fine cornices; it is covered with a dome, or round roof, enriched with grand Mosaic work, and finely gilded; the pavement is of marble, and covered over with matting. The tomb of Constantine the Great is still preferved, and which the Turks hold in great veneration, although they fuffer neither image or picture in their mosques; this being the only ancient building which now remains here of that kind; for all the rest were built by the fultans, or fultanesses, whose names they bear: they are built after the same model, differing only in size, with a number of fountains, and variety of painting, fo that a description of one will convey a just idea of all the rest. The next is the mosque of the sultaness Valide, standing in the middle of a large square court, and is environed with arched canopies, in the form of porticos, under which are many fountains, with cocks for the people to wash themselves at before they enter the mosque; it has but one gate, which is furrounded with a portico of considerable height, paved with white and black marble, and supported by fixty-four columns of red marble, eight of which are porphyry, and placed near the entry; the plafond is adorned with painting and figures after the Turkish manner; the portico is covered with little domes, furrounding a large one in the middle, and all covered

covered with lead; at the four corners of the building are BOOK II. four very high turrets, ending in a globe, or crescent, from 1711. which their priefts call the people to prayers, having no bells for that purpose.

The city is rendered very commodious with houses, called Accommoda-Hans, or caravanserais, for the entertainment and accom-tions for thrangers. modation of foreign merchants; the Hans confift of four fides of building, inclosing a large square court, with a fountain in the middle; the walls are very strong, and the windows well fecured with bars for the fafety of the property lodged there, the roofs confift of little domes, covered with lead, like those of the mosques: the Hans contain only two stories, divided into rooms which have not the least communication with each other; the lower story is divided into warehouses for goods, and the upper story into lodgingapartments for the merchants, who must provide every thing for their accommodation, for they find nothing when they come in but the bare walls. The caravanserais are a poorer fort of inns, and built in the same manner as the Hans, which ferve the poorer fort of strangers, and servants of the caravans, and have stabling for their camels. Befides these, there are no other public houses of entertainment.

The city is furrounded by a high and thick wall, with Strength. battlements, after the oriental manner, and towers at some distance from each other, defended by a lined but shallow ditch, and on the land-fide these works are double; those, with the Seven Towers, are all the strength of Constantinople. The feraglio is built on the point of the land jet- The feraglio. ting into the fea; it occupies a space of four miles in cir-

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cumference.

BOOK II. cumference, the greatest part of which is laid out in gardens; the whole structure is irregular, for it is indeed only a medley of confused building, ornamented with a number of those little gilded spires and globes without beauty or order; the principal entry is near St. Sophia, and refembles the gate of an old paltry town, without architecture or ornament; through this gate we entered into a large court, where, on the right, are the apartments for the fick, and on the left are magazines of arms for a thousand men; from this court we passed into another, bordered with two large porticos; on our right hand are the kitchens, and stables for an hundred horse on the left; but we were permitted to go no farther. The feraglio, with its gardens, &c. is. furrounded with a very high wall of grey stone, with a parapet at the top, and battlements like those of the city, and which incloses the old and new feraglios: in the old one, the reigning fultan shuts up the wives of his predecesfor, who, at their entrance, look back on the pleasures of this life as gone for ever; the new feraglio is contiguous to his own palace. The great officers of state are but meanly lodged, most of their houses are inclosed in a kind of park, containing a garden, and a large court, having stables on one fide, and kitchens on the other. The many gilded globes and spires, resembling steeples, which appear in all parts of the city, contribute very much to its grand appearance, especially at a distance.

Scutari, a fine view.

Opposite to the seraglio, on the side of Asia, and distant about a mile and a half, across the water, lies Scutari: it is a large town, adorned with a royal mosque and a palace, or pleasure-house, of the grand seignior's. The brow of a hill,

hill, near Scutari, presents one of the grandest and most BOOK IL beautiful prospects, perhaps, the world affords: here you have before you, in one view, the cities of Constantinople, Galata, and Pera, the small seas of the Bosphorus and Propontis, with the adjacent countries on the shores of each.

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The port and harbour have their peculiar beauties; the The port and! harbour is three miles long, and one broad, clean and deep harbour. throughout, and so steep to the shore, that the largest veffels come fo close you may step on board or a shore without a boat; at the entrance of the port stands Leander's. tower, a high square building; there is a fountain on the rock, and some pieces of cannon, which might defend the city on that fide in case of necessity. On the opposite side suburbs. of the port are four considerable towns, but which are rather considered as a part of the suburbs of the city, as their distance from it, over the port, is so small, that a person may eafily be heard on the other fide; they are named Pacha, Galata, Pera, and Tophana, and are eight miles in circumference. Pera is the place where the foreign ambaffadors, and all the Franks refide, for they are not permitted to live in the city; Galata is, properly speaking, a city of itself, handsomely built, being surrounded by walls, and has large fuburbs, is exceedingly populous, and mostly inhabited by Franks and Jews, and is a place of great trade. Franks is the general denomination of all strangers that are Christians. At the end of the port stands the grand arsenal, which co- Arsenal. vers a confiderable space of ground, and contains arms for 60,000 men, where also the gallies are laid up in an hundred and twenty arches.

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Air and cli-

The air is extremely pure, and so wholesome, that the inhabitants are never subject to any epidemical disease but the plague, which visits them every year, and then makes a dreadful havock amongst them. It is imagined they would live till they dropt into the grave through mere old age, if their days were not cut off by this pestilential malady; they are so little acquainted with any other mortal distemper, that when they are told the plague is hardly known in Britain, they naturally ask, "What then do the people die of?" The climate, being in 41 deg. 30 min. north, is so temperate, that the winters are never cold, and the summer's heat is greatly allayed by the cooling breezes from the seas.

The Turks contrasted.

The Turks feem to contrast us in almost their whole manner: with us it has always been deemed honourable to be espoused to one woman, they marry several wives; we reckon our cloaths the most commodious for being short, they wear theirs down to their heels; we esteem long hair and a fmooth face ornaments to the countenance, they shave their heads and let their beards grow; we write in a strait line from left to right, they in a crooked one from right to left: they crouch down to make water like the women. They have no houshold furniture, fuch as beds, tables, chairs, looking-glaffes, or pictures; the bare walls, with a plafond, or ceiling, and a fopha, are all the riches or ornaments in their rooms; the rich, indeed, paint their ceilings and walls in the Moresco taste, and their sophas are two feet high, and reach from the one end of the room to the other, under the windows, and are ten feet broad,

covered

Domestic accommodations.

covered with Turkey or Persian tapestry; besides these, BOOK II. there are matts laid along the other fides of the room, five or fix feet broad, covered with cloth or velvet, and over these are laid large cushions, stuffed with hair or wool; these cushions, in the houses of the grandees, are curiously embroidered, or covered with a rich cloth of gold. Loitering in floth and idleness, cross-legged like so many taylors, the Turk wastes almost his whole time, lolling on these cushions, or fophas, smoking tobacco, and drinking coffee or sherbet, without either diversion or amusement, but playing with shells, or at trick-track, or the goofe.

Their provinces, cities, and towns, are governed by Internal gobassas, sub-bassas, waiwodes, cadis, (or judges), and col-the country. lectors. The bassa is invested with the supreme executive authority, and is accountable for the revenues of his government to the grand fignior; but to fecure a free toleration to be as arbitrary a tyrant in his province as his mafter is in his empire, he farms his oppressions at an annual tribute to the fultan, of money and flaves, exclusive of the ordinary duties, customs, and imposts of the province: the fultan thus gratified, and a wide door opened to the rapacious avarice of the imperious bassa, he exercises all manner of cruel oppressions, when there is any thing to be got by it, in his whole dominions, without regard to quality or condition, widow or orphan, it is all the same. creafing treasure of some of these bassas enables them to maintain a standing army of their own, whereby they become formidable to the grand feignior himfelf, who then is obliged to wink at their crimes rather than run the hazard of punishing them; for the bassa can rely on his forces

tyrant and his grim lieutenant, it is no very defirable privilege to be a Turkish subject. The waiwode is a city magistrate: the collector is a receiver of the customs, and has great authority to take cognizance of all fraudulent practices in the pecuniary revenues, and in all his decisions he is both judge and jury; and his sentence is always regulated by the profit it yields. The cadi is a judge of the law.

Religion.

The Turkish religion acknowleges four prophets; Enoch, Moses, Jesus Christ, and Mahomet; they believe that Judas, who intended to betray his master to the Jews, was by them crucified in his stead, and that Christ was translated into heaven; they upbraid the Christians with folly and impiety, for believing that he, whom they adore as God, was put to fuch a thameful death, and the very fight of a crucifix fills them with anger and rage. They believe that Christ will come to judge the world, but that he will first reign a thousand years upon the earth, and marry, and beget children; but they will not acknowlege a Trinity of persons in the Godhead, alledging, that such an opinion would absolutely destroy the unity of that sovereign Being, without which he could not be God. They fay that Christ was succeeded by Mahomet, after whom there shall come no other prophet. They believe that there is an infinite number of angels, some good, others bad; fome white, others black: they imagine, that every man has two angels who constantly attend him, the one writes down all his good, the other all his bad actions. They are of opinion, that the fouls of the wicked enter not into hell till the day of judgment, but remain with their bodies

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in the grave, where they are tormented by the black angels till the last day, when they will be fent to hell, and suffer most cruel punishments for a certain period, according to the enormity of the crimes they have committed in this life, at the expiration of which they will be released and admitted into paradife, where they will enjoy the same happiness that is appointed for good men; for, say they, it is inconsistent with Divine goodness to punish a being eternally for the offences of fo fhort a life. They pray five Worthip, times a day; at day-break, noon, three o'clock, fix o'clock, and an hour after the close of the evening: on Friday, being their fabbath, they affemble for public worship, when the Iman, or prieft, fays prayers, and delivers a kind of fermon, or exhortation, to his hearers, but none of their women are suffered to appear at their public devotions, They keep Lent, which lasts thirty days, and they are obliged to fast every day from morning till night during all that time, being permitted neither to eat, drink, or fmoak tobacco: lent ends with the moon, and every body is fo impatient to fee the new deliverer that is to release them from their loathed abstinence, that they run to the tops of houses, and even of mountains to see its rife; and as soon as it peeps in the horizon, they falute it with feveral reverential bows; their castles also proclaim the welcome news by repeated discharges of their great guns: the three succeeding days are fpent in mirth and jollity. They are allowed at no time to eat hog's fleth, or drink wine. They are so entirely absorbed in their faith of predestination, that they use no precautions in the time of the plague; and are offended at the Christians for taking care of their health on

I fuch tion is, afferting they ought not to forfake dying or dead men.

The plague, which sweeps away such vast numbers of the inhabitants, seems in some degree necessary to the preservation of the country, as they are increased one fifth part of their number yearly; which is easily accounted for, when it is considered that every man is allowed to marry four wives and keep several concubines; and there are besides, fifty thousand slaves brought into Turkey every year; so that the country would soon be overstocked with inhabitants, and the people in danger of starving, if their numbers were not curtailed by this malady: yet, notwithstanding the terrible havoc made by the pestilence, the land is still full of people.

Genius.

Their manners and customs, as I observed before, are opposite to ours in almost every respect: they are so far from studying to improve their understanding, that they in a manner glory in their ignorance; and their ambition is fo fmall that they never attempt any thing that has not fome fordid interested view for its object; living for the most part a recluse and lazy life, scarce ever looking beyond the sphere of their own families; and provided their wives are handfome, their horses well curried, and their servants submisfive and respectful, they have not the smallest curiosity about the affairs of the rest of the world. Contented with their lot they fit whole days on a fopha, without any other occupation than drinking coffee, fmoaking, or careffing their wives; fo their whole life is a continual revolution of eating, drinking, and fleeping, intermixt with fome dull recreations.

creations. Yet they cannot be accused of luxury in cat- BOOK II. ing, for a fowl boiled with rice, coriander-feed, and fugar, is the best dish that is served up, (which they call pilaw); Diet. that, with a dish of fish, &c. and a defart of sweetmeats. makes their meal. When the hour of dinner comes, a fervant brings an octangular table of walnut-tree, inlaid with ivory, not above a foot and a half diameter, which he places on the fopha, and having laid the cloth, ferves up the diffies one after another; another fervant foreads a napkin on his master's knees, and stands behind him to carve and help him to what he chooses, for it is beneath the grandeur of a Turk to do any thing for himself. They never drink at meals, though they are in no hurry in difpatching them, but as foon as the table is removed, a fervant brings a cup of sherbet, and then the coffee and tobacco, with which his master beguiles the rest of the day: their vessels are all earthen or porcelain. At night, a mat, sheets, and coverlet, are brought, and they sleep in Reft the same place where they ate, drank, smoaked, played. and loitered all the day. This is their constant course of life, after they cease to be youths; for from the age Exercise of of fifteen to twenty they learn the use of arms, the art of their youth. riding, the bow, throwing the dart, and other exercises of that nature; and, indeed, they are excellent horsemen, notwithstanding their high saddles and short stirrups, for they rule their horses with great dexterity without whip or spur, instead of which they use a batoon, three feet long, holding it by the middle, and striking with the ends as they find it necessary to direct the horse's motion. Their horses are very swift, and stretch them-I 2 **felves** 

the ground. The Turks throw the dart so admirably well on horseback, that they hit the mark at full speed, very seldom missing their aim; and what is more surprising, they will throw their batoon as far before them as they can, and following at full speed, catch it on the ground as the horse passes, without giving him the least sheek.

Drefs.

The men's dress consists in long and wide breeches, reaching to their ancles, with leathern stockings fastened to the lower part of them, and is called a chackfir, and fhort boots of red leather: a shirt of very fine cotton cloth, made exactly like a woman's fmock, only wider, especially at the fleeves, which are open: over this they wear a cafetan, which is a kind of long cassock, with narrow sleeves buttoned at the wrist; the summer cafetan is made of white cotton cloth, and in winter of filk stuff quilted with cotton, and are girt about the waift with a filken fcarf, in which they fasten their poniard, the handle of which is made of filver or ivory, enriched with jewels: they never appear with a fabre but when they go into the country. The upper garment is a cloth gown, which they call a vest; in summer it is lined with taffety, and in winter with costly furs, these with the turban complete the drefs of the man.

Drefs of the

The habit of the women is not much different, and that chiefly confifts in being a great deal richer. They wear a cafetan of gold brocade, fastened before with large pearls, or a small knot of diamonds; it covers their shoulders entirely, but is cut so low before at the top, that their breast would remain naked if it was not covered with their smock.

and a little waiftcoat they wear over it; this waiftcoat fits BOOK II. very close to the body and keeps up the breasts: above the cafetan, they wear a leathern girdle, covered with plates and studs of gold and silver, set with precious stones of beautiful luftre. Their smock is always of the finest flowered filk, and hangs over their chackfir, which, in funmer is made of the same filk as most agreeable in the excessive heat. Their upper vest is either of fine cloth or velvet, embroidered, or of rich cloth of gold. Their head drefs is very elegant and becoming; the talpo is a large high velvet cap, fomewhat refembling a close crown, is made to fit neat round the head, and widens upwards; it is adorned with the richest embroidery of gold, filver, and pearls, and is fo high, that it would fall back on the shoulders, were it not artificially supported above the head, where they plait and fold it with much art: it is also enriched with long strings of pearls curiously interwoven and strewed with diamonds, rubies, and all forts of jewels; it is fastened to the head, with a frontlet two fingers broad, and fo rich that it may compare with a diadem; round the frontlet are little gold chains, with a diamond hanging at the end of one, an emerald at another, &c. which dangle upon the forehead and on both fides of the face. Their hair is braided in a long trefs, four fingers broad, hanging down an incredible length, on some even to the heel; they wear a little curl on each fide of the forehead, which hangs in a ringlet down the fide of the face, and these curls ingross much of their attention; they dye them black, as they do also their eye-brows, which are extremely regular, for they shape them. with a razor; the women, in general, paint, and are,

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BOOK II. notwithstanding, most charming creatures. They feem to be made for love, their actions, gestures, discourse, and 1711. looks, are all amorous, and admirably fitted to kindle that foft paffion: fince they have nothing elfe to do they make it their only business to please. Besides their elegance and beauty, their extreme neatness is none of their least confiderable charms; they bathe twice a week to keep themfelves clean; and then, by a peculiar art, they crack all Ointment of the joints in every limb; and to destroy all excrescent hairs pilaw. they anoint the skin with pilaw, which makes the hairs fall off, and gives an additional whiteness and softness to the

fizin

Their predominant interest in marriages, &c.

Matrimonial privileges.

The Turks, who are commonly governed by their interest in their marriages, are obliged to court by proxy, and to be fatisfied with a character instead of an interview, which he is only indulged with for the first time when they marry; but there are fo many other conveniences allowed them, that they have not the least reason to complain, for they are permitted to marry four lawful wives; and those who defire a greater variety may marry twenty concubines if they please, for this also is a fort of marriage, not to mention the pretty flaves whom they buy and fell. who are weary of their wives may turn them away when they please, paying their dowry. It is a pity we have not fuch a fashion, for if we had, we should see many a fatal knot untied.

Concubine marriages.

The concubine-marriage is still more commodious than the other; the man takes the woman he fancies before the cadi, and tells him that he is willing to keep her after such a rate, and when he has no farther

occa-

occasion for her, he will give her fuch a certain fum of BOOK II. money.

This is the usual refuge of strangers, for if they are Severities on caught in making free with their females, they run a rifque franger. of coming under the talons of the sub-bassa for a heavy fine, which if they cannot pay, they are pretty fure of meeting with the bastinado: and as for the poor kind sinner, she is immediately mounted on an ass, with her face toward the tail which she holds in her hand, and in that position fhe is carried through the town, and then fold for a flave; this feverity makes most strangers conform to the custom of concubinage, or purchasing a slave, to keep clear of the bassa; though the women are far from being cruel, yet by the feverity of the bassa, and the suspicious vigilance of the cautious husband, it is almost impossible for a gallant to thrive in this place.

The Turks have no written laws but what are con-Their laws tained in the Koran; all civil affairs are judged by the cadi, according to evidence upon oath, without any regard to writings; and the highest bidder is sure of the decision in his favour; but he that loses, if it be for debt, must pay it immediately or go to prison; and if it so happens that his effects are infufficient to fatisfy the demand, the poor debtor must receive a bastinadoe on the sole of his foot for every piaster of such deficiency, unless the sum exceeds five hundred; for they do not punish with a greater number of bastinadoes as the stoutest man would not be able to endure it without the manifest danger of losing his life; and after this his creditor may take or fell him for a flave.

BOOK II.

In criminal cafes.

Judgment, in criminal matters, belongs to the baffa, - who proceeds in the same manner; for money atones for the most barbarous crime, and without it justice degenerates into cruelty; so that the stake and the gibbet is only the portion of the poor villain: nor can there be a stronger proof of a man's poverty, than his being executed for robbery or murder. There is, indeed, a provision feemingly favourable to murderers, for if the perpetrator is lucky enough to get out of the way before he is discovered, the baffa and waiwode can charge the blood on the people before whose door the murder was committed, if it happens in a town or village, and levy upon them forty thousand aspers, (the stated price), so that there is seldom much diligence used to apprehend the criminal himself; nor are these tribunals less favourable to the robbers who infest the country.

The most usual punishments in Turkey for capital offences are beheading, drowning, hanging, strangling, burning, impaling, and the strappadoe; the two last are the most cruel, and are appointed only for Turks who renounce the Mahometan faith, or renegadoes who return to the Christian religion: robbers and murderers are hanged; women are drowned; persons convicted of rebellion or sedition are beheaded; and burning falls to the lot of Christians and Jews who blaspheme against Mahomet or the Koran, or lie with a Turkish woman.

The channel of the captain's information. The bassa, under whose escort I came from the river Neister to Constantinople, shewed me much civility on the way, and treated me with great kindness after our arrival: it was owing to my acquaintance with him that I obtained

most

most of these accounts of their government, laws, customs, and BOOK IL manner of living. At our first arrival we lived very comfortably here, but that was foon interrupted by the restless intrigues of the king of Sweden, the cham of Tartary, and New difficulthe French ambassador. By an article of the treaty at the treaty of the river Pruth, the grand vizier engaged, that the Swedish king Pruth. should leave the Turkish dominions; but the king appearing in no forwardness to depart, we still held Azof beyond the time stipulated for our furrendering it, and this produced a fecond declaration of war, which was the more readily entered into, as the vizier, who had negotiated with us had been difmissed, and was succeeded by another, en- Change of tirely in the Swedish interest; but the sultan being informed, that this minister had been won over to that interest by largesses, dismissed him; and, by the mediation of sir Robert Sutton and count Colvar, the British and Dutch ministers at this court, a peace was again concluded on the 16th of April, 1712, and the grand feignor acquainted the king of Sweden with it by letter, defiring him to think of A fresh treaty. returning into his own dominions.

This peace was of no long continuance, for the Swedes Fresh interfeon interrupted it in Poland, where the starost Gruzinski, ruption to the peace. who had been in Turky with the king of Sweden, made an irruption with a body of 4,000 Wallachians, Cossacks, &c. and penetrated into Great Poland, where he surprifed and carried off a whole regiment of Ruffians, who were free from all suspicion of an enemy: another party got beyond Posnania, where they took a magazine and 300 Russians. General Baur, coming at the knowlege of what had happened, posted to Posnania, and hastily collected a body of

BOOK II. 4,000 Russians, with whom he surprised and attacked Gruzinski, who so little expected it, and was so much off his guard, that he did not dispute the matter a moment, but left his camp as it stood. General Baur pursued him so close. night and day, that he came up with him at Kruterschien, where Gruzinski, not choosing to risque an engagement, and taking his officers with him, abandoned his troops, and returned into Silesia; the whole body of the troops surrendered prisoners of war.

Against which the ezar remonftrates.

The czar now remonstrated against this violation of the treaty by the Turks; and the king of Sweden, although. he was the aggreffor, exclaimed loudly against the Russians, who had purfued fome of the Cossacks into the grand seignor's territories: and the fultan fuffering himself to be imposed on by the cham of Tartary, the French ambassador. (M. Defaleurs) and the Swedish ministry, once more brokethe peace, on pretence that there were still some Russian. troops remaining in Poland. The fultan, however, to fatisfy himfelf, dispatched an aga into Poland, to know if any of our troops were in that kingdom; and this aga having also tasted the sweets of Swedish influence, made his report accordingly; while the grand vizier, falling under the imputation of being influenced by the czar, got himself dismissed, and Solyman Bassa was made vizier; the result of all which was another declaration of war, and an order. for the Ruffian ambaffador, hoftages, and all the officers. in their retinue, to take up their abode in the Seven. Towers.

Ministry again changed, and the Ruffian ambaffador, &c. fent to the Seven Towers.

Mighty preparations for war.

This fudden declaration of war was accompanied with orders to all the bassas to raise troops; and the sultan, with

his

his whole court, removed to Adrianople. King Augustus, BOOK II. and the republic of Poland, had prepared a folemn embaffy to the fultan, which was now on its way, at the head of which was the palatine of Massovia, with a splendid retinue of three hundred persons; but the sultan, who acknowledged Stanislaus as king of Poland, prevented the arrival of this embaffy, by feizing them on the road and imprisoning them. King Augustus, however, had address enough to bring the cham of Tartary over to his interest; and Ali Coumourgi, the grand feignior's reigning favourite, coming into measures with the czar, found means to perfuade his mafter that the aga, who had been sent into Poland, had made a faise report respecting the Russian troops there. Solyman the vizier, and the musti. being minions of the favourite, although they had both advifed the war, now finding it no longer agreeable to him. came as eafily into his defigns; and, notwithstanding all these mighty preparations, they foon prevailed on their inconfistent master to listen to proposals for an accommodation, which was now again fet on foot. The negotiation was foon fettled, as the chancellor Schaferof and count Zeremetof had full powers, and engaged for the czar that his troops should, bona side, evacuate Poland; and the grand feignior engaged to oblige the king of Sweden to depart the Turkish dominions. Upon matters being brought thus far towards a conclusion, I was dispatched for Petersburg, where I arrived the 13th of October; but before I got there, our troops had evacuated Poland. This peace, for twenty-five years, was afterwards ratified by the czar; and on the king of Sweden's refufing to comply with the K 2 grand

1711.

the cham and bassa had orders to force him to it; and that brought on the famous action of Bender, the particulars of which are so universally known, that I think it need-less to repeat them.

## BOOK III.

Marriage of the exarovoitz.—The exar's celebration of his old wedding. General Baur's discovery of himself to his friends and brother officers. The empress Catherine's descent and rise. - Prince Menzikof's rise; and the czar's narrow escape from poison.—Expedition against the Swedes.— Description of the city of Moscow. - An ambassador from Persia; a great fire in Moscozu. A young physician burnt by the clergy, zuho are therefore deprived of the power of life and death, and holidays and convents abridged .- Manners of the gentry .- Description of the women .- Entertainments of the common people.—Marriage.—The princess Natalia's bumorous fancy in the marriage of the drearfs.—Three women punished for drowning their husbands .- The punishment of the knout .- The exar's birth and marriage. - A virtuous young lady. - Muscovite robberies and murders.—The czar's danger by them.—Remarkable murder of Szvediffs officers by Jews .- Suppression of the robbers .- Seat of empire changed from. Moscow to Petersburg. — A description of the exarowitz's person and manners .- Russian restrictions of confanguinity in marriage. - Ridiculous custom in burying.—Their images.—Their baths.—Manner of travelling.—Religious fasts..

HE czar had been in Germany to concert measures BOOK III. with his allies, and then went to Carlibad, to drink the waters for his health, from which he found benefit; Marriage of and from thence he returned, by the way of Dresden, to the czaro-Targau, where he met with his fon, the czarowitz, on the point of his marriage with the princess of Wolfenbuttel, fifter to the empress of Charles the Sixth: the czarowitz was in the twenty-fecond year of his age, and the princess in her eighteenth. Here the queen of Poland made great preparations for celebrating the nuptials, and the ceremony was performed by a priest of the Greek church, with no

great.

BOOK III, great pomp, on the 25th of October 1711, the day after the czar's arrival; the czarowitz was led to the altar by the czar, and the princess by duke Anthony of Wolfenbuttel, her grandfather; the queen of Poland, and her court, the duke of Wolfenbuttel, father to the bride, and the duchefs, her mother, were present. There was a magnificent entertainment at the queen of Poland's; and if the czar would have suffered the old duke to put himself to that expence, he intended the fplendor of his grand-daughter's nuptials to have been beyond example; but instead of splendor in the introduction, it were to be wished there could have been greater happiness in the sequel of this matrimonial engagement, which here indeed could fcarce well be expected, as inclination, on his part, had no share in the union. The czarowitz was entirely given up to low, fenfual pleafures and mean vicious company, and had no defire at all to marry, nor had any other view at present than an endeavour to shun the danger he was in of forfeiting his fuccession to the crown: and the princefs, whose amiable person and engaging accomplishments deserved a better fate, entirely missed her-road to happiness.

The czar's celebration of his old wedding.

A few days after the marriage, the young couple took the route for Wolfenbuttel, and the czar that of Silefia, for Petersburg, where the czar's marriage with the czarina was publicly folemnized the 20th of February, 1712, in the following manner. M. Kyking, one of the lords of the admiralty, and Jaguzinski, adjutant-general, were sent to invite the company to his majefly's old wedding, which were the terms they were ordered to use. The czar was married in his admiral's uniform, which occasioned the naval officers

officers to bear a principal share in the solemnities of the BOOK III. day: Vice-admiral Kruys, and the rear-admiral of the gallies, were the bridegroom's fathers; the empress-dowager and the vice-admiral's lady, were the bride-mothers; the bride-maids were two of the empress Catherine's own daughters; but as these princesses were too young to bear the fatigue, the czar's two nicces, daughters to czar John, his majesty's elder brother, performed as proxies: after the ceremony, all the company met at the czar's palace, according to invitation, in a most magnificent procession. Prince Menzik8ff carried the marshal's staff, and vice-admiral Kruys was in the fledge, with the czar on his right hand; the whole entertainment was very splendid; the evening. concluded with a ball and fire-works, and the city was illuminated the whole night, which finished the old wedding.

Prince Menzikoff was foon after fent into Pomerania, to take the command of the Russian army, consisting of 36,000 men, and was then joined by the Danes and Saxons: his majesty soon followed, and taking Berlin in his way, had a conference with the king of Prussia; from thence, by Hamburgh, he went into Holstein, where he took Frederickstadt, jointly with the king of Denmark: Taking leave of the Danish monarch he went to Schonhausen, where he had another interview with his Prussian majesty. The troops left in Holstein, assisted the Danes. in reducing Toningen, and making general Steinboch and his army prisoners of war; and those in Pomerania took Stettin, and blockaded Stralfund. Prince Menzikoff at that time levied, by contribution, from the city of Hamburgh.

BOOK III. burgh 250,000 crowns; from Lubeck 100,000, and from Dantzig 150,000.

Genetal
Baur's discovery of himfelf to his friends and brother officers.

At the time our troops were in Holstein, general Baur, who commanded the cavalry, and was himself a soldier of fortune, his family or country being a fecret to every body, took an opportunity to discover himself, which surprised and pleased those who were about him. Being encamped near Husum, in Holstein, he invited all his field-officers. and fome others to dine with him, and fent his adjutant to bring a miller and his wife, who lived in the neighbourhood, to the entertainment. The poor couple came very much afraid of the Muscovite general, and were quite confused when they appeared before him, which he perceiving. bad them make themselves quite easy, for he only meant to shew them kindness, and had fent for them to dine with him that day, and talked with them familiarly about the country: the dinner being fet, he placed the miller and his wife next to himself, one on each hand, at the head of the table, and paid great attention to them, inviting them to make free and eat hearty. In the course of the entertainment, he asked the miller a great many questions about his family and his relations: the miller told him, that he was the eldest fon of his father, who had been also a miller at the fame mill he then possessed; that he had two brothers, tradesmen; and one sister, married to a tradesman; that his own family confifted of one fon and three daughters. The general asked him, if he never had any other brother than those he had mentioned: he replied, he had once another, but he was dead many years ago, for they had never heard of him fince he enlifted and went away with foldiers

diers when he was but very young, and he must certainly BOOK III. have been killed in the wars. The general observing the company much furprized at his behaviour to these people, thinking he did it by way of diversion, said to them, "Gentlemen, you have always been very curious to know " who and whence I am; I now inform you, this is the " place of my nativity, and you have now heard from this " my eldest brother, what my family is."—And then turning towards the miller and his wife, he embraced them very affectionately, telling them, he was their supposed dead brother; and, to confirm them, he related every thing that had happened in the family before he left it. The general invited them all to dine with him next day at the miller's. where a plentiful entertainment was provided, and told them that was the house where he was born. General Baur then made a generous provision for all his relations, and fent the miller's only fon to Berlin for his education, who turned out an accomplished young man.

As general Baur was the perfon by whose means the empress Catherine arrived afterwards to so great a height of grandeur, this leads me to relate her story, as I heard it told by those who knew her from her infancy.

She was born at Runghen, a fmall village in Livonia, of The empress very poor parents, who were only boors, or vaffals; her defcent and father and mother dying, left her very young in great want; the parish-clerk, out of compassion, took her home to his house, where she learnt to read. Dr. Glack, minister of Marienburgh, feeing her there, enquired of the clerk who she was; and being informed she was a poor orphan he had taken into his house out of charity, what from a

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BOOK III. wish to relieve the poor clerk from a burthen he was not well able to support, and a liking to the little orphan, the doctor took her home to his house, notwithstanding he had a numerous family of his own. Here her company and opportunities for improvement were better, and her deportment fuch, that she became equally esteemed by the doctor, his wife, and children; her steady, diligent, and careful attention to all their domestic concerns, ingratiated her so much with the doctor and his wife, that they made no distinction between her and their own children. ever after showed her acknowledgment with the utmost gratitude, in richly providing for all those who could lay claim to any alliance to the doctor's family; nor did she forget her first benefactor the clerk of Rughen. In this happy fituation she grew up to woman, when a Livonian serjeant, in the Swedish service, fell passionately in love with her; fhe likewise liking him, agreed to marry him, provided it could be done with the doctor's confent, who, upon enquiry, into the man's character, finding it unexceptionable, readily gave it. The marriage day was appointed, and indeed, came, when a fudden order came to the ferjeant that very morning, to march directly with a detachment for Riga, who was thereby difappointed from ever enjoying his lovely bride. Soon after this, general Baur, at the head of an army, came before the town and took it, in the year 1702, when all the inhabitants were made prisoners, and amongst the rest this lovely bride. In the promiscuous croud, overwhelmed with grief, and bathed in tears at her unhappy fate, the general observing her, saw a je ne sçai quoi in her whole appearance, which attracted him fo much, that

that he asked her several questions about her situation; to BOOK III. which she made answers with more sense than is usual in persons of her rank; he defired her not to be afraid, for he would take care of her, and gave immediate orders for her fafety and reception into his house, of which he gave her the whole charge, with authority over all his fervants, by whom the was very much beloved from her manner of using them; the general afterwards often faid, his house was never fo well managed as when she was with him.

Prince Menzikoff, who was his patron, feeing her one day at the general's, observed something very extraordinary in her air and manner, and enquiring who she was, and on what footing she ferved him, the general told him what has been already related, and with due encomiums on the merits of her conduct in his house: the prince said, fuch a person would be of great consequence to him, for he was then very ill ferved in that respect; to which the general replied, he was under too many obligations to his highness to have it in his power to refuse him any thing he had a mind to, and immediately calling for Catherine, told her, that was prince Menzikoff, and that he had occasion for a fervant like herself, and that the prince had it much more in his power to be a friend to her than he had, adding, that he had too great a regard for her to prevent her receiving fuch a piece of honour and good fortune. She answered only by a profound courtefy, which shewed, if not her confent, that it was not then in her power to refuse the offer that was made: in short, the prince took her home the fame day, and she lived with him till the year 1704, when the czar, one day dining with the prince, happened to fee

her,

fion on that monarch, who would likewise have her to be his servant; from whence she rose to be empress of Russia.

Prince Menzikoff's rife, and the czar's narrow efcape from poison.

As prince Menzikof was also a person raised from a very low degree, I was told the following circumstances of his rife. He was born of gentle, but very poor parents; and they dying, left him very young without any education, infomuch that he could neither read nor write, nor ever did he to the day of his death: his poverty obliged him to feek fervice in Moscow, where he was taken into the house of a pastry-cook; who employed him in crying minced-pies about the streets; and having a good voice, he also fung ballads: whereby he was so generally known that he had access into all the gentlemen's houses. The czar, by invitation, was to dine one day at a boyar's, or lord's house, and Menzikoff happening to be in the kitchen that day, observed the boyar giving directions to his cook about a dish of meat he faid the czar was fond of, and took notice that the boyar himself put some kind of powder in it, by way of spice; taking particular notice of what meat that dish was composed, he took himself away to sing his ballads, and kept sauntering in the street till the czar arrived, when exalting his voice, his majesty took notice of it, sent for him, and asked him if he would fell his basket with the pies: the boy replied, he had power only to fell the pies, as for the basket he must first ask his master's leave, but as every thing belonged to his majesty, he needed only lay his commands upon him. This reply pleafed the czar fo much, that he ordered Alexander to stay and attend him, which he obeyed with great.

joy. Menzikoff waited behind the czar's chair at dinner, and BOOK III. feeing the before mentioned dish served up and placed before him, in a whisper begged his majesty not to eat thereof; the czar went into another room with the boy, and asked his reason for what he had whispered to him, when he informed his majefty what he had observed in the kitchen, and the boyar's putting in the powder himself, without the cook's perceiving him, made him suspect that dish in particular; he therefore thought it his duty to put his majesty upon his guard. The czar returned to table without the least discomposure in his countenance, and with his usual chearfulness; the boyar recommended this dish to him, faying, it was very good; the czar ordered the boyar to fit down by him, for it is a custom in Moscow for the master of the house to wait at table when he entertains his friends, and putting some of it on a plate, defired him to eat and shew him a good example. The boyar, with the utmost confusion, replied, that it did not become the fervant to cat with his master; whereupon the plate was set down to a dog, who foor dispatched its contents, which, in a very short time, threw him into convulsions, and soon deprived him of life: the dog being opened, the effect of the poifon was clearly discovered, and the boyar was immediately fecured, but was found next morning dead in his bed, which prevented all farther discovery.

Menzikoff's remarkable introduction foon gained him credit and confidence with his royal master, which from being one of the meanest and poorest, raised him to be one of the richest subjects in the Russian empire; he was not only dignified with the title of a prince in Russia, but also declared a prince of the Roman empire. He was tall, well-

shaped,

BOOK III. shaped, very handsome in his person, and of great penetration: he acted as vice-czar at the imperial court, the czar himself appearing at all public meetings as a private person, attended by two servants at most, and, instead of pleasing himself with the pomp of grandeur, his delight was the improvement of his empire, which he vifited every where in person.

Expedition against the Swedes.

The czar, in his return from Germany, came to Riga, where he met the czarina, who had been delivered of a princess, and soon after set out for Petersburg, where he got three hundred veffels in readiness, and embarked the beginning of May 1713, with 12,000 men, and landed at Helfingfoo, in Finland; returning immediately to Peterfburg, he embarked 6000 more, and went back himself with great expedition, and landed them at the same place. He gave prince Galitzin the command of the army, confifting of 20,000 foot, 4000 horse, and a large train of artillery, to act by land, and he himself put to sea with twenty men of war in quest of the enemy's fleet, but found them fo advantageously sheltered, that he did not think proper to attack them, but returned and joined the army at Shrendo; from thence he marched to Abo and befieged it, and the place furrendered the 8th of September: then leaving orders with his generals to follow and drive the Swedes out of Finland, he returned to Petersburgh, where he launched several men of war and gallies.

This city being then in its infancy, many thousand workmen were employed in building, and lodgings were very scarce. I had the good fortune to be accommodated in lieutenant-general Bruce's house, who was commandant of Petersburgh, and brother to the master-general of the ord-

nance; but the master-general being left in Germany, sent BOOK III. me orders to go to Moscow, and stay in his house with his lady, till he should arrive; for which place I set out the beginning of this year, and coming in view of it, in a clear fun-shine day, I never faw so glorious a fight as this city presented at a distance with the vast numbers of gilded domes and sceples: but my expectations were greatly difappointed when I entered it, finding only ill-built wooden houses, and timber-streets interspersed with churches, and brick-houses, with large courts and gardens, the habitations of the grandees and people of fortune; and coming to general Bruce's house, I met with a very kind reception from his lady, who treated me with the affection of a mother: they had then no child.

Moscow is divided into four parts; the first is called the Description Middle, or Red-Town, which is furrounded by a ftrong of the city of Mofeow. brick wall; part of it is taken up by the castle, called Kremelin, being two miles in circumference, and inclosed by three strong walls, each higher than the other, with a deep ditch on the outfide, planted with a great number of cannon; and the two rivers, Moscow and Neglina, flow by two fides of this division of the city. The castle is so extenfive, that it contains the czar's palace and dwellings for his courtiers, the archbishop's palace, with many others; and two cloisters, one for monks, the other for nuns; befides fifty churches, all built square, each with five domes, the larger one in the middle, and the four leffer ones on each corner, and are all covered with copper gilt: in the middle of the castle stands a very high steeple, called Ivan Welika, or Great John, in which is a bell that weighs 336,000 lb.; it is 19 feet high, 23 in diameter, 64 in circumference.

BOOK III. cumference, and two in thickness, and was founded in czar Boris-Goodanof's time, and requires twenty-four men on each fide of the clapper, to draw it from one fide to the other; the bell itself is moveable, but is never rung except on some great occasion. The other part of this division, without the castle, is mostly inhabited by the grandees: here also stands the grand market, which is a very large square, divided into streets, where the merchants and tradefmen have shops for the sale of goods; and as every kind of merchandize, or manufacture, is classed by itself, in its own department in the market, makes it very convenient for the buyer, who may fuit himself with very little trouble. All the shops are locked at sun-set, and the four gates of entrance into the square, are shur by the officer of the guard, who places centries all round it, and is accountable for the property in the place: the shops are opened at day-break. This is the only place allowed for the fale of goods, and is much the fame with the befestin at Constantinople.

The fecond part, or division, is called Zaargorod, and is furrounded by a strong wall with battlements, after the Oriental manner, and towers at proper distances; this is also called Bela-Stena, or White-Wall; the river Neglina runs through it; here are the czar's stables, a foundery for cannon and bells, the arfenal, prince Menzikoff's palace, general Bruce's house, and many other gentlemen's houses of rank.

The third division is called Skorodom, or the House-Market, which the word imports, skoro fignifying haste, and dom, a bouse. Here one may buy a wooden house of any dimensions, have it carried to the place where it is to stand,

enter-

stand, set up, and ready to dwell in, the third day after the BOOK III. purchase: this part is surrounded with mud-walls supported. 1713. with planks; the river Jagusa runs through it.

The fourth division is called Strelitza Slaboda, where the military are generally quartered, and is furrounded by an entrenchment; it stands on the other side of the river Moscow, with a fine bridge built over it by prince Galitzin, favourite of the princess Sophia, his majesty's eldest sister, who gave him fo much trouble in the reign of czar John.

It is generally computed that there are in this city fifteen hundred churches, chapels, and cloysters; this surprising number is accounted for by every grandee's having a chapel and priest of his own. Moscow lies in 55 deg. 36 min. north latitude, and is in circumference fixteen English miles. A great number of foreigners live in the city, as Greeks, Armenians, Persians, Turks, and Tartars, and are allowed the public exercise of their religious worship. At a small distance from the city, stands a large suburb called Inoifemska Slaboda, or Foreign Town, where the English, Dutch, and Germans live; there are four Protestant and one Roman Catholic church in it; but none of them are. allowed to have steeples or use bells. It is pleasantly situated on the river Neglina, on the banks of which are a number of pleasure-houses with fine gardens; the famous general le Fort, built a magnificent palace here; the people live very agreeably among themselves, without interfering with the natives except upon business. As the country abounds with great plenty of every necessary of life, people live at a very cheap rate, and regale themselves with balls and M

pence. In the fummer-time they carry tents, and pitch them in the neighbouring woods, where they make merry with dancing on the green till night. The czar, when in Moscow, used always to make one in their parties of pleasure and entertainments, and paid them frequent visits

An ambassador from Persia: a great fire in Moscow.

An ambassador from Persia came here with a very great retinue, and remained waiting the czar's arrival; the prefents he brought were ten Persian horses, a very large elephant, a lion, a tyger, an offrich, and feveral kinds of parrots, and other birds; befides a great quantity of Perfian filks and tapestry, and other rarities. Soon after there happened a great and dreadful fire, which confumed the greatest part of the city, especially the wooden houses; the fire broke out in a maiden monastery without the town, and a strong west wind blew the fire upon the city, which set it all on a blaze: the only method they use to stop the progress of a fire is, by pulling down houses at a distance before it, as it is impossible to use fire-engines; the streets being all of timber, burn at the fame time with the houses. On this occasion, a poor superstitious man seeing the fire advancing to confume his all, took a picture of St. Nicholas, and holding it between him and the fire, prayed fervently for that faint's protection, but in vain, for the flames foon feized his house, for which he became so enraged at the faint that he threw him into the fire, faying, fince he would not fave him, he might now fave himfelf: this coming to the ears of the clergy, the poor man was fentenced to be burnt alive. All the brick buildings, fuch

as churches, and other religious houses, noblemen, and BOOK III. gentlemen's houses, escaped this conflagration, only the roofs of the latter were burnt without being otherwise damaged, for all the houses of three or four stories high are arched to the top, and their street-doors and windowshutters are of iron.

1713.

After the fire, the city was very foon rebuilt from the Skorodom before mentioned, as every body could fit the dimensions of his premises with a house; and it was truly furprifing to fee with what dispatch the timber was conveyed to the place appointed, and with what dexterity the timbermen rear it. In two days the house was under roof, when the purchaser gave directions where the doors and windows should be, the parts being cut out they put in the frames, which are all ready prepared.

An instance of the superstition of the people, and power A young of the clergy, happened fome time before this fire. young man, whom the czar had fent to Leyden for his edu-clergy. cation, having finished his studies in physic, returned a graduated physician, and at a merry-meeting with his friends, they questioned him concerning his religion: he being then in his cups, told them, he was as much of the Greek church as ever, but that he had lost all his faith in faint's pictures, and to prove what he faid, he took one down from the wall, and threw it in the fire; whereupon he was immediately feized, and put into the hands of the clergy, who very foon fentenced him to the flames, and burnt him in a most cruel manner; laying the fire at fome distance from him to keep him the longer in tor-The czar, being informed of the cruelty of the M- 2 clergy,

BOOK III, clergy, as he had formerly abolished the dignity of pa-

1713. Who are therefore deprived of the and death.

convents abridged.

triarch, took this opportunity to deprive them of the power of life and death, and made a law that all the clergy should apply themselves to study, allowing them power of life five years for that end; after which they were to undergo an examination, and those who were found capable to perform their functions were to be promoted, the others Holidays and to be discarded. And as three fourth parts of the year were holidays in commemoration of fome faint or other, whereby the people were for the most part idle, he made a law that no holiday should be kept but in commemoration of our Saviour, the Virgin Mary, the twelve Apostles, and St. Andrew, and St. Nicolas, the tutelar faints of Russia. And as there were in the empire many thousand convents full of lazy monks, who lived in idleness, he restricted the number of these houses to fifty, each house to contain no more than fifty monks, each monk to be above forty years of age; the rest of them to be appropriated to hospitals for fuch of the army and navy as were become unfit for fervice, and other indigent persons not able to maintain themselves; and their revenues for their support: and the monks, who had been bred to no handicraft, and were fit for fervice, to be employed in the army.

Manners of the gentry.

The people of rank and fashion in Moscow having laid aside the old customs and manners of their fathers. now live very gay, drefs in the French fashion, and converse with more freedom than formerly; and as the fair fex are allowed all manner of freedom in company, they live in a perpetual round of pleasure and diversion, spending most part of their time in balls and entertainments, inviting each other

other by turns to their houses; and as they were lest lonely BOOK III. by their husbands, who are for the most part employed abroad, the ladies took Swedish officers who had been taken prisoners at Pultowa into their families; some as stewarts, others as governors to their children, and some to teach them music and dancing. So that all their balls were made up with Swedish gentlemen, and other foreigners, of whom they were very fond.

The Russian women are of a middling stature, generally Description well proportioned, and might pass for handsome in any part men. of Europe; their features far from despicable, were it not for that preposterous custom of painting their faces, which they lay on fo abundantly, that it may truly be faid they use it as a veil to hide their beauty.

As for the fecond rank of the people, they still retain Entertainmuch of their old manner of living; at their entertainments common peonone but the men appear; the master of the house waits ple. on his guests till the defert of sweatmeats comes on the table after dinner, when he takes his feat amongst them, and does all he can to encourage them to drink, for it would be a great reflexion upon them if any of the company should get out of the house without being drunk. When the guests offer to go away, the mistress of the house makes her appearance, at a call, and barely enters the room, when turning round to the corner where the family-faints are placed, croffing herfelf, makes a very low bow, and then pays her respects by a bow to the company, without coming a step farther, but remains standing, clad in a loofe gown lined with fur, and a fable cap on her head, and her face covered over with paint and patches;

but

waistcoat, or petticoat, or even garters to her stockings, and she wears very high heeled slippers: in this situation, the landlord introduces all his guests to salute his spouse, one after another, and a servant is ready behind her with a salver and four glasses silled with brandy, wine, mead, and beer, which every body is obliged to drink to the good health of the lady; after which she retires without so much as opening her mouth; after that other semales of the family are introduced in the same manner, and thus they end their entertainments very drunk.

Marriage.

In Russia they commonly marry very young; the parents make the match without confulting the inclinations of their children, who do not fo much as fee one another till they are introduced in their bed-chamber: this was also customary among the first rank, till the czar put a stop to it by allowing young people to pay their addresses in person, without imposing a match upon either against their inclinations, whereby many fatal marriages were prevented; but the old custom still prevails among the inferior ranks. When the maiden becomes marriageable, the parents fend for a broker, or match-maker (commonly an old woman), and give her instructions to look out a proper husband for their daughter; delivering her, at the same time, an inventory of what they propose to give with the damsel, as money, jewels, plate, houshold-goods, and her clothes, even to her shifts; likewife, the number of boors, or vaffals, who are commonly valued at ten rubles each per annum. With this lift, the broker goes from one bachelor to another, whom she deems a suitable match for the young lady, enquiring of them

them if they have an inclination to marry, the can recom- BOOK III. mend them to a pretty young lady with a handsome fortune: shewing them at the same time the conditions. the inventory pleases the young man, he signs his name to it; and, after she has got several subscribers, she returns the paper to those who employed her; then the parents of the girl make enquiry into the characters and circumstances of the fubscribers; and having pitched on three or four of the most eligible, they are invited by the father to an entertainment, where there is a meeting of friends, upon which occasion the glass goes briskly about: the mother, daughter, and other female relations, take their stations in the house, fo as to fee the company without being feen by them; enquiring of the girl which of them she would choose for a husband, and when the point is settled, as to their choice, the company, after a hearty drink, is dismissed, none knowing who is to be the happy man. The next day fome of the girls relations are fent to confer with those of the intended bridegroom. If the match is accepted, two or threewomen, deputed by the intended bridegroom, are permitted to examine the person of his intended spouse, before whom the appears stark naked, to shew if there be any personal defect; after this the friends fettle the marriage, the intended couple not being allowed to fee one another till they they meet in the bed-chamber.

The princess Natalia, only fifter to the czar, by the The princess fame mother, ordered preparations to be made for a grand morous fanwedding for two of her dwarfs, who were to be married; cyinthe maron which occasion several small coaches were made, and little dwarfs. Shetland horses provided to draw them; and all the dwarfs

BOOK III. in the kingdom were fummoned to celebrate the nuptials, to the number of ninety-three; they went in a grand procession through all the streets of Moscow; before them went a large open waggon drawn by fix horses, with kettledrums, trumpets, French horns, and hautboys; then followed the marshal and his attendants, two and two, on horseback; then the bridegroom and bride, in a coach and fix, attended by their bride man and maid, who fat before them in the coach; they were followed by fifteen small coaches, each drawn by fix Shetland horses, and each containing four dwarfs. It was fomewhat furprifing to fee fuch a number of little creatures in one company together; efpecially as they were furnished with an equipage conformable to their stature; two troops of dragoons attended the procesfion to keep off the mob, and many persons of fashion were invited to the wedding, who attended in their coaches to the church, where the small couple were married; from thence the procession returned in order to the princess's palace, where a grand entertainment was prepared for the company; two long tables were covered, on each fide of a long hall, where the company of dwarfs dined together; the princess, with her two nieces, princess Anne and Elizabeth, the czar's daughters, were at the trouble themselves to see them all seated and well attended, before they fat down to their own table. At night the princesses, attended by the nobility, conducted the married couple to bed in grand state: after that ceremony, the dwarf-company had a large room allotted them to make merry among themselves; the entertainment concluded with a ball, which lasted till day-light. The company which attended the princesses on this occasion were so numerous, that they filled feveral BOOK III.

Some little time after this I saw three women buried Three woalive for drowning their husbands: they had, it seems, for drowning croffed the Mosco in a boat, all three together in search of their husbands. their husbands, whom they found all drunk in a public house. and endeavouring to perfuade them to go home, were feverely beaten by them; however, by the affiftance of fome other people, they got them at last into the boat where they fell afleep; the wives to be revenged on their hufbands for beating them, when the boat had reached the middle of the river, threw them one after another into the river, and after they had drowned them, they came a-shore very unconcerned. The matter immediately came to light: they were feized, tried, condemned, and ordered to be put alive into the ground up to their necks, there to remain till they died; two of them lived ten, and the other eleven days; they spoke the first three days, complaining of great pain, but not after that; they had certainly got fome fustenance in the night time, or they could not have existed so long; the oldest of them was not twenty years of age.

If a man kills his wife, or flave, under correction (as The punishthey term it), he is only whipt with the knout; which is knout,
thus performed: a lufty fellow takes him upon his back,
and another ties his feet with a cord, which comes through
between the legs of the perfon who carries him. In this
posture he is held so fast that he cannot stir, and being
stript to the middle, the executioner with the knout, which
is a strap of dried elk-skin, untanned, fastened to a stick, which

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he

the blood, or leaves a wale as thick as one's finger: this is called the moderate; but when the fentence orders it to be more fevere, then the executioner, advancing three or four steps, till he is within reach of the offender, gives the first stroke in the middle of the back, retreating at every stroke, and is so expert that he never hits twice in the same place;

each stroke brings the slesh with it. Where the punishment is ordered with the utmost severity, he strikes the slanks, and often cuts into the bowels, which few survive. It is a general remark that lean people turn fat after the knout; and that it is an infallible cure for those who are hide-bound.

Besides this, they have another way of chastising, called the batoags, which is used in families for the correction of children and slaves, and also in the army. The person to undergo this, after pulling off his clothes to his drawers, is laid flat on his belly on the ground; one sits across his head and neck, another upon his feet, each surnished with a good switch, with which they soundly tickle his back.

The czar's birth and marriage. During my residence in Moscow, I was told the following particulars of the czar. He was born in the year 1672, and was married in 1690, at the age of eighteen, to Ottokessa Lupochin, a boyar's daughter, by whom he had prince Alexis: some time after he turned her away, and shut her up in a monastery, on suspicion of disloyalty to his bed. It was said, that in one of her jealous sits, she charged prince Menzikoss with carrying the czar to drabs of his former acquaintance, who had been his customers for cakes; upbraiding him with his sirst occupation, and that Menzikoss ever after bore an irreconcilable enmity to

both

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both her and her fon. After the divorce, one miss Mons, a BOOK III very beautiful young lady, born at Moscow, of foreign parents, was much in favour with the czar; but when he was abroad, Mr. Keyferling, then refiding at Moscow as envoy from the king of Prussia, paid his addresses to, and married her. When the czar returned, he was fo much offended at Keyferling, that he ordered him to leave Moscow, which occasioned his immediate recall by the king his master, who fent another in his room. It was believed, if his public character had not protected him, he would have feverely felt his majesty's displeasure.

The czar was some time after smitten with the charms of A virtuous another beautiful young lady, the daughter of a foreign young lady. merchant in this city: he first saw her in her father's house, where he dined one day; he was fo much taken with her appearance, that he offered her any terms she pleased, if she would live with him; which this virtuous young woman modeftly refused, but dreading the effects of his authority, fhe put on a refolution, and left Moscow in the night, without communicating her defign even to her parents. Having provided a little money for her support, she travelled on foot feveral miles into the country, till she arrived at a small village where her nurse lived with her husband and their daughter, the young lady's foster-sister, to whom she discovered her intention of concealing herfelf in the wood near that village: and to prevent any discovery, she set out the same night, accompanied by the husband and daughter. husband, being a timber-man by trade, and well acquainted with the wood, conducted her to a little dry spot in the middle of a morals, and there he built a hut for her habi-

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tation.

cure little necessaries for her support, which were faithfully conveyed to her at night by the nurse or her daughter, by one of whom she was constantly attended in the night-time.

The next day after her flight, the czar called at her father's to fee her, and finding the parents in anxious concernfor their daughter, and himself disappointed, fancied it a plan of their own concerting. He became angry, and began to threaten them with the effects of his displeasure, if she was not produced: nothing was left to the parents but the most solemn protestations with tears of real forrow running down their cheeks, to convince him of their innocence and ignorance what was become of her, affuring him of their fears that some fatal disaster must have befallen her, as nothing belonging to her was missing, except what she had one at the time. The czar, fatisfied of their fincerity, ordered: great fearch to be made for her, with the offer of a confiderable reward to the person who should discover what: was become of her, but to no purpose: the parents and relations, apprehending the was no more, went into mourning for her.

Above a year after this she was discovered by an accident. A colonel who had come from the army to see his friends, going a hunting into that wood, and following his game through the morass, he came to the hut, and looking into it saw a pretty young woman in a mean dress. After enquiring of her who she was, and how she came to live in so solitary a place, he found out at last that she was the lady whose disappearance had made so great a noise:

noise: in the utmost confusion, and with the most fervent BOOK III. intreaties, she prayed him on her knees that he would not betray her; to which he replied, that he thought her danger was now past, as the czar was then otherways engaged, and that she might with safety discover herself, at least to her parents, with whom he would confult how matters should. be managed. The lady agreed to his proposal, and he sat out immediately and overjoyed her parents with the happy difcovery: the issue of their deliberations was to consult Madam Catherine (as she was then called) in what manner the affair should be opened to the czar. The colonel went also upon this business, and was advised by madam to come next morning, and she would introduce him to his majesty, when he might make the discovery and claim the promised. reward. He went according to appointment, and being introduced, told the accident by which he had discovered the lady, and reprefented the miferable fituation in which he found her, and what she must have suffered by being so long that up in such a dismal place, from the delicacy of her The czar shewed a great deal of concern that he should have been the cause of all her sufferings, declaring, that he would endeavour to make her amends. Here Madam Catherine suggested, that she thought the best amends his majesty could make was to give her a handsome fortune and the colonel for a husband, who had the best right, having caught her in pursuit of his game. The czar, agreeing perfectly with Madam Catherine's sentiments, ordered one of his favourites to go with the colonel, and bring the young lady home; where she arrived, to the inexpressible: joy of her family and relations, who had all been in mourn-

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BOOK III, ing for her. The marriage was under the direction, and at the expence of the czar, who himself gave the bride to the bridegroom; faying, that he prefented him with one of the most virtuous of women; and accompanied his declaration with very valuable prefents, besides settling on her and her heirs, three thousand rubles a year. lady lived highly esteemed by the czar, and every one who knew her. Besides the concurring reports of other people, I had this her story from her own mouth.

Muscovite

Murders are fo frequent in Moscow, that few nights robberies and pass without some people being found dead in the streets in the morning. The robbers go in strong parties, and kill before they rob: this they do with fo little fear, that they often perform it before the perfons own door; and the terror of these ruffians is so great, that none of the neighbours dare affift the unhappy victim for fear of being butchered themselves, or at least having their houses burnt. This obliges people who have occasion to be in the streets in the night, to go in companies together, or have a fufficient guard of fervants on horfeback to attend them. The weapon used by those villains is called a dubien, which is a long stick with a round knob at one end, and made heavy with iron, with which they knock a man down dead at one stroke; and if any of them happens to be taken, a good fum of money from the gang they belong to, gets them off: it is even affirmed, that gangs of them were protected by fome of the nobility, who partake of the booty; which affertion I believe not ill grounded.

> The highways are also much infested by those Rasbonicks, as they are called, which makes it very dangerous travelling

in any part of Russia; for they have their spies in the BOOK 111 towns, who inform them when any body is to fet out on a journey, how they are to be attended, and according to this information, they prepare themselves for an attack, and way-lay them in some wood through which they are to pass.

A gentleman of the name of Knipercron, whose father The czar's had been resident from Sweden before the war, told me, danger by them. how the czar himfelf had been attacked in his younger days: his majesty frequented their house very often, and always shewed a great regard for their family. One evening the czar intending them a visit, being only attended. by two fervants, the one riding before and the other standing behind the fledge, up comes a fledge with eight Rafbonicks in it, and were just going to fasten his sledge to theirs with a grapling-iron, which they commonly make use of on these occasions; but the czar being then young, stout, and vigorous, got up, and feized one of the robbers by: the hair of his head, and pulled him out of their fledge; and, keeping his hold, drove out of their reach, dragging the fellow along with him till he reached the refident's house, which was not far, and entered to their great surprize. all in a sweat, still holding the fellow by the hair. He ordered. the gates to be immediately shut, that none of the servants might go out till he had examined the robber. When the. fellow, understood that it was the czar they had attacked, he shook and trembled, faying if they had known who he was they would not have meddled with him, and then begged. he might be put to death, without being put to the torture. To this his majesty confented, on condition he discovered the rest of his gang; but this the fellow would not do, without a promife of his life and a reward, which was also granted

him,

rendezvous of his companions, and coming to the he called to them to open the door. On hearing his voice, they directly opened it, and in rushed the foldiers, and seized not only his seven accomplices, but thirteen others of the same gang, who were soon after all executed, except the informer.

At another time the czar was attacked on his way from Moscow to Novogorod, when he was attended by four fervants only. Going from Twer, he was stopt by a strong party of Rasbonicks, on which he immediately jumped out of his fledge, with a fword drawn in one hand, and a cocked pistol in the other, and told them he was the czar, asking them what they wanted? They replied, they were poor fellows reduced to great want, and as he was their lord and master, he was the properest person to relieve them: he told them he had no money about him; to which they answered, if he had, they would take none from him, but defired that he would give them a written order to the governor of Novogorod for what fum he pleafed to bestow upon them, begging that it might be such as would relieve them from their straits. The czar then asked them, if one thoufand rubles would be fufficient; and on their faying it would, he wrote an order for that sum payable at fight, and for which they directly dispatched one of their number, who very foon returned with the money: they then obliged the czar to return to Twer, and to pledge his royal word not to profecute, or ever enquire after them, promifing to amend their lives and become good subjects for the future. of proceeding to Novogorod, the czar returned back to Moscow.

I cannot

I cannot omit mentioning what happened in my own BOOK III. time to two of the Swedish officers who had been made prisoners at the battle of Pultowa. They were missing: Remarkable great fearch was made and much enquiry, but nothing Swedish officould be heard of them, from which it was concluded they cers by Jews. had been murdered; some little time after four others disappeared, but were not missed, till one of them, a captain Horn, returned shot through the shoulder with a pistol-ball: who privately addressed himself to a lieutenant of our artillery, who had been his former acquaintance in the Swedish fervice, to whom he told the misfortune that had happened to him and his comrades. The lieutenant immediately informed major-general Gunter, of the artillery, what had happened to the Swedish officers, and that the villains informed against were then at a house in that part of the town where the artillery men were quartered; the general directly ordered them to be fecured, being four in number. The story in short was this: -A Jew who had embraced the Christian religion, of the Greek church, and who was an engraver by trade, counterfeited passports under the chancellor's feal, and agreed with the two first for a fum of money to carry them into Poland, from whence they might fafely pass into their own country. In the passport they were described as two officers going to the army, and each of them with one fervant; they arrived at the borders of Poland without the least interruption or suspipicion; and having passed by Smolensko, the Jew desired them to write to their companions in Moscow, and inform them with how much fafety they had made their escape; which they did, recommending the Jew as the fittest per-

BOOK III. fon they could employ, if any of them intended to get away as they had done. After he had got these letters of 1713. recommendation, the Jew offered to conduct them a day's journey farther, which they accepted of, and the officers riding together through a wood, congratulating each other on their happy escape, the Jew and his companion riding behind them as fervants, took out each a pistol, and aimed fo well, that they shot both the officers dead, and having plundered them, returned to Moscow, where they entrapped captain Horn, and three others, into the fame snare, by shewing the letters from those who had already made their escape, and fetting out with a passport for four officers, and as many fervants: they also arrived on the frontiers of Poland, and riding late at night, the servants fired, and each killed his master, except captain Horn, who being shot through the shoulder, fell from his horse, and they thinking him to be dead as well as the rest, went in pursuit of the horses which had taken fright at the report of the pistols, and ran away: in the mean time, captain Horn recovering himself, made the best of his way into the wood, where he concealed himfelf; the villains returning, missed, and searched for him, but it being then dark they could not find him, and having plundered the other three, they returned for Moscow, giving themselves little concern about captain Horn, as they concluded he durst not return there to inform against them. The captain, however, to prevent those villains from doing more mischief, and to get them punished, determined to

> return; and discovering himself to a nobleman's steward near Smolensko, who happening at that time to be sending some carriages with provisions to his master at Moscow, the cap-

> > tain

tain took the opportunity and went with them, and on his BOOK 111. arrival made the discovery as has been related. The four villains being fecured, were examined, and confessed what I have mentioned, but pretended they had done a meritorious action, by destroying his majesty's enemies, who were endeavouring to make their escape from prison. preservation was a happy circumstance, for they might have done much mischief if they had not been detected, as they had now also recommendations from the four last unfortunate gentlemen. The villains were tried, condemned, and all broke alive on the wheel.

The czar being informed of these frequent murders and Suppression robberies, whereby he was continually losing many of his bers. most useful subjects, sent the most express and positive orders to Knez Romadanofski, whom he had appointed vice-czar in his absence, to put an effectual stop to these disorders at his peril. The vice-czar immediately issued his orders to all house-keepers and publicans to give in the names of those who belonged to their families, and to be answerable for every one who lodged under their roof, and on pain of death. to fecure all those who could not give a fatisfactory account of themselves, and discover all suspected persons. The end of every street was barricadoed, and had a guard, and none were fuffered to appear in the streets at night without a pass from the vice-czar: parties of dragoons were stationed on all the public roads, and the people in the country were made answerable and liable for those who lodged under their roofs in the same manner as the inhabitants in the cities. Great numbers were taken, who were executed in a very extraordinary manner, being hung up by one of

BOOK III, their ribs on an iron hook, in which torment they lived eight or nine days: I faw them hung up by dozens in one day. These executions had so much the defired effect, that 1713. one might travel through Russia, by day or night, with as much fafety as in any part of the world.

1714. Seat of empire changed to Petersburg.

On the first of January, 1714, general Bruce arrived in Moscow, to remove and conduct his family to Petersburgh, from Moscow when a thousand of the best and most substantial families in Moscow had received orders to prepare for the same purpose, in order to people that new city, proposed for the seat of empire. The empress, dowager of czar Feodor, (fister to admiral Apraxin), with her court; the empress, dowager of czar John, with her three daughters; namely, the princess Anne, dowager of Courland (afterwards empress of Russia): the princess Catherine, afterwards duchess of Mecklenburg: and the princess Proscovia, (who died unmarried); the princefs Natalia, the czar's only fifter by the mother, and his two daughters the princesses Anne and Elizabeth; with all the families of rank and quality, fet out this spring for Petersburg, with all the foreign merchants, as no more merchandize was to be allowed to come to Moscow by the way of Archangel; fo that this metropolis, once the pleasantest and most agreeable city in all Russia, became quite deserted, none remaining in it but the vulgar; which was a great mortification to all ranks of people, being obliged to leave a place of fuch plenty for one where every thing was both scarce and dear.

Description of the czarowitz's person

The czarowitz arrived in Moscow this winter, where I saw him for the first time. He kept a mean Finlandish girl for and manners. his mistress. I went often with the general to wait on him, and he came frequently to the general's house, commonly

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attended by very mean and low persons. He was very BOOK HIL flovenly in his drefs; his perfon was tall, well made, of a brown complexion, black hair and eyes, of a stern countenance, and strong voice. He frequently did me the honour to talk with me in German, being fully mafter of that language: he was adored by the populace, but little respected by the superior ranks, for whom he never shewed the least regard; he was always furrounded by a number of debauched ignorant priefts, and other mean persons of bad character, in whose company he always reflected on his father's conduct for abolithing the ancient customs of the country. declaring, that as foon as he came to fucceed, he should foon restore Russia to its former state; and threatening to destroy, without referve, all his father's favourites. he did fo often, and with fo little referve, that it could not mis reaching the emperor's ears; and it was generally thought he now laid the foundation of that ruin he afterwards met with. The czarowitz remained in Moscow till the emperor arrived at Petersburgh; who finding that his fon had left his confort in a melancholy fituation, he ordered the prince without delay to return to his family.

The Russians may not marry any one that is related to Russian rethem within the fourth generation; those of an equal degree confanguiof confanguinity call each other brother and fifter, with the riage, distinction of first, second, and so on, to the fourth degree; and those of a higher or lower degree, are called uncles, nephews, &c. with the same distinction. At their christenings they commonly have three or four godfathers, with an equal number of godmothers, who, after that ceremony, reckon themselves so nearly related that they can no more

marry

BOOK III marry each other than if they were children of the same parents.

Ridiculous zying.

They have a very ridiculous custom at their funerals. Just custom in bu- before the coffin is shut up, the father-confessor of the deceased, puts a testimonial, or pass, for the other world, in writing, between the fingers of the corpfe, in these words: " -- We N. N. do certify by these presents, that the bearer " hereof hath always behaved himself and lived among us as became a good Christian, professing the Greek reliegion; and although he may have committed fome " fins, he hath confessed the same, whereupon he hath re-" ceived absolution, and taken the communion for the re-" mission of his fins. That he hath honoured God and his " faints; that he hath not neglected his prayers, and hath " fasted on the hours and days appointed by the church; " that he hath always behaved himself towards me, who am " his confessor, in such a manner that I have no reason " to complain of him, or to deny him the absolution of his fins. In witness whereof we have given him these " testimonials, to the end that St. Peter, upon fight of them, may not deny him the opening of the gate to " eternal blifs."

Theirimages.

Respecting their images, they suffer none that are carved or graven, either in their churches or houses, but such only as are painted on wood, in oil colours, by those of their own religion. They never will own to have bought their faints, but go to the god-market, and, having chosen a figure they like, deposit the money for the exchange of it; if the faint-maker thinks it not fufficient, he shoves it back, and the other party is obliged to add more to it, till

he is fatisfied. The walls of their churches are every where BOOK III. full of them: over the porch of their churches, in the market-place, and over the gates of their cities, you are fure to meet with the picture of fome faint or other; fo that go which way you will, you fee numbers of people crossing themselves with a most profound inclination of the head, repeating the Gospodi Pomilui, or, God have mercy upon me. These images they consider so absolutely necesfary, that without them they could not perform their devotion: they are the chief ornament of their houses, and whoever enters, first pays his respects to the faint, and then to those of the family. A Russian once coming to me with a message, looked round about the room for an image, and feeing none, asked me, Where is thy God?-I answered, in heaven: upon which he immediately went away without delivering his message. I told the general this circumstance, and he directly ordered a faint's picture to be hung up in my room, to prevent giving any farther offence of that kind.

All Russians, of what degree or condition soever, sleep Their baths. after dinner; fo that about noon, the shops are shut up, and there is no more speaking with any body than if it was at midnight. They bathe frequently: people of quality have their own private ones, and bathe twice a week at least; but the public bathing-places are all built near the fides of the rivers. Their stoves are close places with furnaces, which they heat exceedingly, and for the better raising of vapour, frequently throw cold water on the stove: there are benches all round, at some distance one above another, differing in the degrees of heat, fo that every one chooses.

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BOOK HI chooses the temperature that best suits him: upon one of those benches they lay themselves down at full length, quite naked, and having fweated as long as they think proper, they are well washed with warm water, and well rubbed with handfulls of herbs; after which they take a dram of agua vitæ, and go their ways. But what is most admirable is, when they find the heat too intense, both men and women will run out of the stove, naked as they are, plunge into the river, and fwim about for some time; if it is in the winter, they will roll in the fnow. These public baths are so carelesly built, that it is an easy matter to see the people in the next room through the aperture of the boards which divide them, which, to the women who frequent them, is of no great consequence, as they are not nicely delicate in being feen naked; both fexes going out and coming in at the fame door naked, when they want to cool themselves. These baths are the universal remedies of the Muscovites, whether for cleanliness or health; and thus accustomed from their infancy to the extremes of heat and cold, they become both flout and hardy, and in general longlived, little subject to any distemper: thus they live for the most part without physicians, and many of them without difeases. They begin their day at sun-rising, and end at fun-fetting, fo that their night begins as foon as the fun is down, and ends when it rifes.

Manner of travelling.

The manner of travelling in Russia is extremely commodious, especially in winter, when their sledges glide away on the furface of the ice or fnow, in a flat country, with incredible dispatch, and so very little labour to the horses, that they can easily perform fifty or fixty miles a day. Their fledges

fledges are made of the bark of the linden-tree, fitted to the BOOK III. fize of a man, lined with fome thick felt, and when a man is laid along in them, he is wrapped up and quite covered in good furs. The driver for the most part runs by the fledge to keep himfelf warm, or fits at the feet of the perfon who travels; the fledges being built very low, should they happen to overturn, there is little danger in the fall. In this mode of travelling, the time is mostly spent in sleeping, the easy, almost imperceptible, motion favouring their When they happen to pass through deserts, or great forests, where they are obliged to remain all night in the open air, they kindle a great fire, round which they range their fledges, fo that being well closed on all fides. and well covered up with their furs, they rest more commodiously than in a country cottage, where men and beasts being lodged together in one room, greatly diffurb a man's rest. The greatest inconvenience in travelling those parts is the want of inns on the road, which obliges the travellers to carry provisions along with them, and other necessaries they may stand in need of; but those who travel fingly commonly go post, when they pay the whole expence of the journey at fetting out, and have no more occasion to put their hand in their pocket till they come to the end of it, which is very convenient. The post-boy receives a written order, which he delivers to the next who fucceeds him, and fo on to the end; and they go day and night, having fresh horses every ten miles, so that the traveller may sleep all the way in his sledge, if he chooses. They commonly travel an hundred and fifty miles in twenty-

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four

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BOOK III. four hours. I have often travelled three stages without waking.

1714.

In the summer they travel either by water, on the rivers with which this country abounds; or by land on horseback, by coach, or sleeping-waggon; the roads in Russia being very broad, beautiful, and easy for travelling. For passing the rivers they have a kind of floating-bridges made of large fir-trees, fastened together, which can support a great-weight. But the violent heat of the summer, and the prodigious quantities of muskitoes and slies, are very troublesome, and greatly interrupt the pleasure a stranger would otherwise have in passing through this country from the beauty and variety of its forests, rivers, and lakes.

No religion in the world could well be conceived to impose a more severe mortification on its professors than the Ruffian; for, if it were not sufficient to have enjoined the keeping of two constant fast days in the week, as Wednesday and Friday, and the eves before holidays, when they are obliged to abstain so strictly from all kind of flesh, that: they must not taste butter, eggs, or milk, they have four Lents every year; the longest of them is feven weeks, the first of which is called Butter Week, and that being their carnival, they have liberty for all manner of food except fish. In this week their extravagancies exceed almost all belief; and as if this time was allotted for the purpose of preparing to fast the other fix, they employ it in the most extravagant excess in drinking brandy and melted butter, which they pour down their throats in such amazing quantities, that one would imagine the least spark of fire would

fet their bodies in a flame; nay, they are very often ob-BOOK III. liged to quench this inflammation with milk to prevent their dying on the fpot, which frequently happens. Woe Religious to the stranger that meets these drunkards at night, unless fasts. he is well guarded, their infolencies being fo great that a number of persons are murdered every night; not to reckon those who being overcharged with liquor, and wanting attendants to carry them home, fall down upon the fnow and fo are frozen to death. During this week, it is very common in a morning, although a shocking fight, to see ten or a dozen dead bodies carried upright in a fledge, frozen to death; yet these are the daily objects one meets in a morning, in the streets of Moscow. All the atonement they make for these enormities, when the week is over, is by frequenting the baths, to wash away the impurities contracted in their exceffive debauches: they live temperately during the rest of the Lent, and some of the more rigid will not even taste fish all that time, but live upon honey, herbs, and pulse, and drink only quas, or water.

They celebrate the feast of Easter with great ceremony and rejoicing; as well in remembrance of the resurrection of our Saviour, as that it puts an end to the mortification they endured during Lent. They now rejoice sisteen days, feasting together on all manner of good cheer; and to make a full amends for their sufferings in Lent, the public houses are now continually crouded by all forts of people, women as well as men, ecclesiastics and laics; and the streets almost not to be passed for the multitudes of drunkards at night. For these sisteen days they have eggs ready dyed all manner of colours, which they send or give in presents

lute with these words, Christes was Chrest;—that is, Christ is risen:—to which the other having answered, Woislin was Chrest,—that is, He is certainly risen,—they kis one another; he that salutes first is obliged to present the other with an egg; nobody, of whatever condition or sex, daring to resule the egg or kis: the people of quality have them covered with gold or silver leaf, or very curiously painted both outside and in.

Most of their religious festivals are solemnifed with processions, among which that of Palm Sunday, representing our Saviour's public entry into Jerusalem, is performed with great solemnity. Before the patriarchal dignity was laid aside, the patriarch used to ride in the procession, mounted on an ass, the czar leading him by the bridle, from the castle to the church called Jerusalem, without the castlegate; and the patriarch, in acknowledgment of the honour conferred on him by his majesty in leading his ass, presented him with a purse of one hundred rubles.

## B OOK IV.

City of Novogorod.—The Sterlit fish.—Marshal Zeremetof's military mistakes.—The readiest method to get out of the Russian service.—The city of Petersburgh.—The czar's usual table.—His entertainments.—His prefent of boats to different ranks, and its good design. - An ambassador from Usbeck Tartary. - A naval excursion for his entertainment. - Cronstadt and Cronelet.—Oranianbaum, Petershoff, and Catharinhoff.—The grand dutchess born, and the prince's behaviour on the occasion. His difrespect to the czar.—Naval expedition, in which the czar was rear-admiral.— His gallant action with Ehrenshield.—He takes Aland.—His triumphal entry at Petersburg. - Promoted to be vice-admiral. - He compliments Ehrenshield's bravery.—His speech to the senate.—His resentment of the exarowitz's difrespect.—He institutes frequent social assemblies and a royal academy .- Court-martial on admiral Kruys .- The order of St. Catherine. - Confusions in the revenue, and the consequent distress. - Many delinquents punished.—Fiscals appointed.—The czar's public entertainments. -Mr. Slitter's perpetuum mobile.-The old Finlander.-Hard frost at Petersburgh, - Experiments on bears. - Method of killing them.

N the first day of March general Bruce set out from BOOK IV Moscow, with his family, on his way to Petersburgh; we past by the town of Twer, over the river Wolga, and City of No. arrived at the city of Novogorod the 10th; it is situated in vogorod. a very fair spacious plain upon the Wologda, a river different from the Wolga. The Wologda derives its fource from the lake Ilmen, about three miles above this city, from whence it falls into lake Ladoga, and emerging from thence in the river Neva, near the fortress of Noteburgh, at last by the gulph of Finland, empties itself into the Baltic sea. This river is of great advantage to Novogorod, not only by the plenty of all forts of most excellent fish with:

BOOK IV. with which it stores their market, at a very moderate - price, but by being navigable to its very fource. The furrounding country is very fertile, abounding in wheat, . flax, hemp, honey, and wax. Russia leather is one of its principal commodities, being supposed to be dressed here to greater perfection than in any other part of Muscovy; Novogorod is reputed one of the chief cities in the empire for trade. In former ages, this city was deemed one of the most potent in Europe, and was so famous that it became proverbial in those parts, Who can oppose God and the great city of Novogorod. But the czar Ivan Wasilowitz, the great tyrant of Moscow, having plundered it, laid most part of the city in ashes, and removed all the considerable citizens to Nisni, or Lower, Novogorod. The great extent of the ruins of the ancient walls, and the number of steeples still remaining, are fufficient evidence of its former glory, and that its present condition bears no proportion to what it was before its destruction, being now only surrounded by a wooden wall, and the houses built of the same materials. A castle stands on the other side of the river, opposite to the city, and joined to it by a bridge; this castle is surrounded by a strong stone wall, and is the residence both of the governor and metropolitan. In this city, and oppofite the castle, is a monastery dedicated to St. Anthony, of whom they relate most surprising miracles: amongst the rest, they shew a great mill-stone lying against the wall of the convent, upon which they fay St. Anthony performed his voyage from Rome to this place; that he came down the Tiber into the Mediterranean, through the streights, over all the feas in his way to the Baltick, on this stone, and

going up the Wologda, at last fixed his residence at Novo-BOOK IV. gorod; after he came ashore, he agreed with some fishermen for the first draught of their net, which proved to be a large chest containing the faint's canonical robes, his books, and money; with the money he built this monastery, wherehe ended his days, and his body still remains uncorrupted. Upon my asking the monk, who gave me this information, in what ship the saint arrived upon this mill-stone, and how they got up the falls in the lake of Lagoda, he fell into a passion, and told me I was an unbeliever and no-Christian, and so went away without shewing me the uncorrupted body of his faint.

There are at prefent in this city one hundred and fortyfour religious houses, besides a great number of churches and chapels. Petersburgh is supplied from hence with all forts of provisions and necessaries, conveyed in flat-bottomed vessels, many of which are lost in the falls, or rapids, of the lake Ladoga, by striking on the rocks, which lie hid under water, with fuch violence, from the rapidity of the stream, that they are beat to pieces. The czar, to prevent such requent losses, ordered a canal to be cut in a strait line from the river Wologda to the river Neva, and 30,000 men are employed every fummer at this work, and an equal number of foldiers and peafants. This canal is near one hundred miles in length, and eighty feet broad; the banks on each fide, raifed by the earth dug out of the canal, are fixty feet broad, and make a road on both fides; the country is plain. and level all the way with a fmall northern declination, but. full of woods and marshes. When this work is completed, it will be of unspeakable advantage to the country, as

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BOOK IV. the communication of Novogorod with Petersburgh will be both short and safe; it will also be a great convenience for those who travel that way by land in the summer, as they are now obliged to go a great way about to shun these fens and marshes. The czar also intends, when this is finished. to make a communication between the Wolga and the Wologda, which, in fact, will be a navigable conveyance from the Caspian sea to the Baltic, and consequently to any port in Europe.

The sterlitfift.

Some time ago, some vessels going for Petersburgh, with live fish, called sterlit, in passing the falls of Ladoga, were beat to pieces, by which accident the fish regained their liberty, and some of them were afterwards taken at Cronflot, and one catched at Stockholm, which were confidered very great curiofities, as none of them had ever been feen in those feas before. They are about eighteen inches long, of a shape peculiar to themselves; their head like that of a pike, but longer, and instead of scales, they have a fort of shells on their back, not unlike the turtle-shell, but have no bones at all in them; and when dreffed they are the most delicious fish in the world, being very fat and pleasant to the taste; their common price at Petersburgh is a ducat a-piece. Brigadier le Fort, who was then a prisoner at Stockholm, and feeing this fish in the market, bought it, and invited prince Dolgorouky and general Weyde, also prisoners, to dine with him, and when the fish came on the table, they were both much furprised, knowing it was a native only of the Caspian, or the Wolga. I never heard if they propagated their species in these seas.

General

General Bruce being governor of this province, it detained BOOK IV. him a few days to inspect the affairs relating to his government; and while he staid, was entertained by the principal Marshal Zepeople of the city: one day, dining with the deputy-go-litary mifvernor, the discourse turned upon some mistakes made by takes. field-marshal Zeremetof, when the czar first began to new model his army after the German discipline. For the encouragement of foreign officers to come into the army, he had given orders to the marshal that, if they came well recommended, they should be promoted one step above the rank they held in the fervice they had left; at that time there happened to come a brigadier from the Austrian fervice, well recommended by the emperor, and defired his preferment as a major-general, agreeable to the czar's instructions; the marshal conceiving that to be a step too much, told the gentleman he ought to be fatisfied with being first made a lieutenant-general; and the officer submitting to gratify the marshal, his commission was sent to the czar to be confirmed, and the marshal claimed a merit in having satisfied the foreigner fo eafily: the czar was much diverted with the marshal's mistake, yet he confirmed the commission, but cautioned the marshal not to make such mistakes in future. Notwithstanding this caution, a little time produced another mistake; a German captain des armes, which is below the post of a serjeant, and whose business it is to take care of the arms belonging to the company, folicited to be employed in the army; the marshal, by his German interpreter, asked what post he last served in, and was answered, Captain des armes; the word arm, in the German language, fignifying poor;

BOOK IV. the interpreter reported, that he had been a poor captain; - if that be the case, said the marshal, I'll make him a rich 3714. captain; and made out a captain's commission for him; but the czar, instead of confirming it, made him only enfign, which made the poor captain very happy.

The readiest Ruffi, n fervice.

In those times it was much easier getting into the service method to get than out of it, as was evident in the case of major-general Gordon, who wanted very much to quit the fervice, and folicited his discharge by every application in his power, but all in vain; and being in Poland on a separate command, after the battle of Pultowa, he took that opportunity to fend to Moscow for his wife and daughters, and on their arrival in Poland, he carried them to Dantzig, where he took shipping and failed for Scotland. A fimilar case happened, in my time, to a colonel of dragoons, who, after a long fervitude, folicited, and obtained his discharge from the service with little difficulty, but found it out of his power to obtain a pass to get out of the country, being always put off from time to time with fair promifes, with which they amused him so long, that he was at length obliged to draw bills on his friends in Germany for money to subsist on. The Ruffian policy is, that money faved by the government's fervants, should remain in the country, and having observed this officer, while in Poland with his regiment, making considerable remittances to his friends in Germany, took care when they had granted his discharge to detain his person, with a view to bring some of the money back again. The colonel finding he was like to ruin himfelf, without hopes of getting out of the country, applied to some of the foreign generals for their council, who advifed him immedidiately

diately to petition to be employed again in the fervice; which BOOK IV. he did, and foon found himself once more at the head of a regiment of dragoons; the regiment being ordered into Poland, he there made the best use of his time till he thought himself sufficiently reimbursed, then went into Germany, from whence he wrote to prince Menzikoff, excusing himfelf for leaving the service in such a manner, but he had no alternative, for he was not permitted to do it in a more honourable way; advising the prince not to detain foreigners in the fervice against their will, for fuch measures would only prevent men of abilities and merit from entering at all into their fervice. But all this did not mend the matter: and it would be too tedious to enter into a detail of the difficulties strangers have to encounter in endeavouring to get out of this country. We fat out from Novogorod the 25th, and arrived at Petersburg the 1st of April. The distance from Moscow to Petersburgh is 541 English miles, or 812 Ruffian wersts.

The nobility, and people of fashion and fortune, who The city of had removed with their families from Moscow, found here a Petersburgh. fad reverse in their fituation. Instead of their spacious palaces and lofty houses in that city, and their country houses and villas in its vicinity, where they had every thing in plenty, they found provisions very scarce and most conveniences wanting. As this place was agreeable both to the defigns and humour of the czar, he paid little regard to the complaints of those who considered their own ease and luxury more than the advantage of their country. The merchant and shopkeepers found their account in this new city, where every thing bore an excessive price.

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This city was now in its infancy, it being yet but barely ten years fince its first foundation was laid. When the czar had made himself master of Noteburgh and New Schantz, he went down to the mouth of the river Neva, where it falls into the Baltic by feveral streams forming so many islands; the fituation pleafed him fo much, that he refolved upon building this city. He found only four fishermen's huts, to which he added a house for himself on an island in the north side of the river, and called it Petersburgh. This house was only a shelter from the weather and to rest in; it is a low hall built of wood, inclosed with a wooden gallery, and the year 1704, in figures, carved over the door; but in memory of this great undertaking, it has been preserved ever fince. Lieutenant-general Robert Bruce, commandant of the city, has the charge and use of this original hall, and has built a very good house adjoining to it for himself, which was one of the first that made a show in this place. The first thing that was undertaken was the building two forts; one here, and another at Cronflot, to protect the place from infult from the Swedes by fea; it being naturally guarded against any attempt on the land-side, as the country round it is almost one general morals.

Every body now beheld with furprize and admiration fuch advances toward a city, in fo short a time, as many thousand houses were already built. In that part called Petersburgh, stands a large square brick building, with a spacious court within, for merchants and tradesmen, where they have their shops below and store-rooms above, and are shut up every night, being under the same regulations with the grand market-place at Moscow; and the merchants all reside

reside in this part of the town. Here is also a large long BOOK IV. brick building, which contains the fenate-house, all the fupreme courts of the kingdom, chancery-court, court of justice, the boards of admiralty and ordnance, the waroffice, &c. &c. The prefident of every court, or board, is a fenator. The feat of trade, the courts of justice, all the publick offices, and the grand council of the empire, being combined in fuch a fmall space, makes it extremely convenient for the dispatch of business. On another island, to the north of this, are the habitations of Afiatic merchants, viz. Armenians, Persians, Turks, Tartars, Chinese, and Indians: but no Jew is now allowed to trade, or indeed, live in the Russian empire. Opposite to the senate-house, on a small island, stands the fort by itself, and being in the center, commands the whole city; the fort is a hexagon, strengthened by ravelines; the ramparts are all casemated, bomb-. proof: it contains houses and barracks for the officers and foldiers belonging to the garrifon, a large arfenal, storehouses, and magazines; a fine large church, with a very high steeple, furnished with a set of musical bells, which play every day from eleven to twelve at noon; in this church is a large vault intended for the sepulchre of the imperial family; the works, and all the interior buildings. are of brick, and the only communication with the fort is. by draw-bridges, opposite the senate-house. Below the fort. on the same side of the river, is Wasilio Ostrof (or Island), where prince Menzikoff has built a very grand palace, and a number of fine brick houses for the accommodation of those belonging to his court: this island is large, and well laid out in gardens and parks, and here the grandeur of the Imperial

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the fleet.

BOOK IV. Imperial court is displayed, and all foreign ambassadors and ministers have their audiences; on which occasion, the 1714. czar appears always as a private gentleman; as indeed, he does every where, attended only by one page and one footman who carries his mathematical instruments and draughts, for he is an excellent draughtsman, and understands all the branches of the mathematics, and is well versed in fortification, architecture, ship-building, and the construction of all kinds of engines. As he is a prince that has a knowledge of every thing, he is not eafily imposed on by Opposite Wasilio-Ostrof on the south-side of the river, is the admiralty and dock-yard for building ships and gallies. This island being formerly low and marshy, was intersected by several canals, and the ground raifed and made commodious for the purpose it is applied to; it is inclosed by the river, and like the rest of the place, has its natural defence from the moraffy confines of the river. The people employed in ship-building are all

Above the admiralty, stands the Inoisemska Slaboda, or Foreign Town, where all European foreigners live, and have several Protestant and one Roman Catholic, meeting-houses: here stands admiral Apraxin's fine palace. This island was also low and marshy, but was drained and raised by digging several canals through it. The czar has both his winter and summer-palace on this island; the former is next the river, and the latter at the east, or upperend of the island, where his yatchs and pleasure-boats are ranged close up before the door; here are exceeding sine gardens

quartered here, as also the officers and failors belonging to

gardens and a large park, inclosed by a large and deep ca- BOOK IV. nal; the gardens are full of water-works, Italian statues, covered walks and arbors. A fine avenue of large trees, which stand by the side of the river, were dug out of the ground in the winter, with large quantities of frozen earth sticking to their roots, and brought in that condition and planted here, and flourished to the surprize of all who saw In the park was built a house which contains all: forts of mathematical instruments; also the famous globe of Gothorp, contrived by Tycho Brahe, in which twelve people can fit round a table and observe the celestial constellations as it turns on its axis. In the garden was a long gallery, or hall, where the czar attended every day from eleven to twelve o'clock at noon, when every body had free access, and he then received petitions from all ranks of his subjects: after that hour none were permitted to address him except upon affairs of consequence. He dined commonly at twelve The czar's' o'clock, and only with his own family; one dish only was ferved up at a time, and to have it hot he dined in a room, contiguous to the kitchen, from whence the dish is received through a window from the cook; at one o'clock he lays down and fleeps an hour; he spent the afternoon and evening in some diversions or other till ten o'clock, when he went to bed, and got up again at four in the morning, fummer and winter.

In the holidays, he invented all manner of diversions, His enterand frequently entertained company in his long hall in the tainments. garden, which being furrounded by water, the guests come in their boats, which, as the company difembark, are all fecured under a guard in the harbour, that no body may

give

BOOK IV. give him the slip before the company depart altogether,

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His present of boats to different ranks, and its good defign.

which feldom happened before next morning. Coaches, or other wheel-carriages, are of little use in this city, where the whole is furrounded either with rivers or canals, which having no bridges, every body is obliged to go by water. To accommodate this inconveniency, the czar prefented every one of the first quality with a yacht; a buyer, which is a failing-boat with a large cabin in the middle of her after the Dutch fashion; a barge of ten or twelve oars, and a wherry of four or two: those of the second rank, a buver and a wherry; and to those of a lower degree, a wherry only; obliging every one to keep their vessels in repair, and when worn out, to rebuild them at their own expence; this was also a political present, for one day in the week was appointed for mustering those vessels, for failing or rowing, as his majesty's fancy directed, and the proper fignal was made by the fort. If they rowed it was on the broad river, in their smaller vessels, when they made a delightful appearance, and the pleafure much heightened by the bands of music: most of the first quality had bands of their own. If the fignal was made for failing to Cronstadt, then all the yachts and buyers went in three fquadrons: in this expedition, they were taught all the different manœuvres of a fleet of men of war, by fignals, as making or shortening fail, tacking, forming the line of battle, coming to an anchor, &c. &c. by which the young nobility and gentry became acquainted with the nature of the fervice, and many hands were taught the manual duties of feamen, and fitted for the navy. East from the summer palace, on a dry rifing ground, stands the grand arsenal, and foundery for

for cannon, mortars, &c. and a fine house built by the BOOK IV. master-general; and here also reside all the officers, &c. of the ordnance; those also of the blood-royal live here on account of its fine fituation and air, as it is not subject to inundations as the other parts; the czarowitz and his confort have their court here; the princess Natalia his majesty's fister, the two Imperial dowagers of the czar's Feodor and John, besides a number of noble families: and at the east end of this place stands the monastery of Alexander Newski, where an archbishop resides. The great stir there was at this time in all parts of the city is past description, nothing was to be seen or heard all day long but tradefmen and labourers at work in building ships and galleys, or houses either of brick or timber, digging canals and paving streets. The river was continually full of large vessels bringing all forts of materials, as bricks, tiles, and stone for the streets. Large floats of timber came daily down the river for building ships and houses. Every body being employed in one shape or other, there was not an idle person to be seen.

On the 17th of May an ambassador arrived here from the An ambassacham of the Usbeck Tartars, who had an audience of the dor from Usbeck Tartary, czar the next day. His commission consisted of these three articles; first, that the cham rejoiced at his majesty's success in war, and the increase of his power, and recommended himself to his favour and protection; secondly, he defired the czar to enjoin his vassal, the chain of the Calmuck Tartars, to keep good neighbourhood and peace with him, for he feemed inclinable to join with the Tartars, subject to China, and to stir up others of his neighbours against

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him:

BOOK IV. him: for which the cham of Ulbeck offered in acknowledgement, to keep 50,000 foldiers always ready for the czar's fervice, to march at his command. Thirdly, as a farther testimony of the cham's friendship, he offered a pasfage through his dominions for the annual caravans to China. and to enter into a treaty of commerce with Russia, by which an incredible advantage was to accrue to his majesty. as the caravans were then obliged to make their journey to Peking with great inconvenience, and took a whole year to travel the whole extent of Siberia, where there was no beaten road, whereas they might go thither through his mafter's dominions on a good road in four months. The ambaffador then laid many filks, and other Chinese and Persian goods. together with curious furs, at the czar's feet, as a present from his master; telling him, that he had left some Persian horses and beasts behind him at Moscow, and expressed his concern that a fine leopard and an ape had died on the road.

A haval excursion for ment.

On this occasion the fignal was made for the yachts and his entertain- boyars to attend his majesty to Cronslot; I went with the master-general in his yacht, and arrived at Cronslot in theevening, where we flept on board at an anchor. The czar had defired the Tartarian ambaffador to follow him next day with the great chancellor, count Golofkin, on board a fnow, and they fet off about noon with feven fenators on board; the weather was fultry, and they failed with a gentle breeze, till being got about two leagues from Petersburgh, by the unskilfulness of the Russian captain they got among the flats, and the veffel got a-ground on a fand and fluck fast: the failors wrought till seven in the evening before they got her off; and about nine, so violent a storm arose

as had not been known in those parts for several years; about BOOK IV. twelve all their boats were beat to pieces, their best anchor gone, and with it all their hopes, looking for nothing but death. The ambassador having never been on such a sea before, turned pale, and at length wrapping himself up in a filk quilt made his priest sit down on his knees before him, and read fomething out of a book of the prophet Ali, being of the Persian religion. Towards morning the storm began to abate, the vessel was happily towed out of the flats, and as foon as it came to an anchor, his majefty went on board, and congratulated him on his fafe arrival, continuing with him in the cabin above two hours. The ambaffador ordered feveral kinds of fruit of his country to be ferved up, and called for his muficians, vocal and inftrumental, to entertain the emperor. The czar asked the ambaffador feveral questions relating to his country, especially concerning the river Darien, which runs through it, and falls into the Caspian sea. There is a great deal of gold found in the bed of this river, washed down from the mountains, where there are rich gold mines. The czar brought the ambassador on shore, and shewed him his fleet and harbours, at which he was not a little furprifed, as it was the first of the kind he had ever seen.

We were detained here three days, and I took the op- Cronstadt portunity to furvey the island of Retusary, which was new and Cronslot, to me, and where the czar had begun to build a new town called Cronstadt: the houses are all built of brick, and large; the lower stories are calculated for shops and warehouses, for the convenience of foreign merchants to trade or fettle here, as they did not approve the method observed in the grand

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market-

tion.

BOOK IV. market-places of Moscow and Petersburgh, in having their shops in one part of the town, and living themselves in another; here the streets are broad, and have a canal in the middle, that goods may be conveyed or removed, at the easy charge of water-carriage. There are two fine harbours. the one for the royal navy, and the other for merchant-men. the piers being all mounted with cannon. Within gunshot of the harbour, and a mile from Ingria, stands the castle of Cronslot, founded on a sand-bank in the sea: the foundation was laid in winter upon the ice, with strong wooden cassoons filled with stone, upon which the superstructure was afterwards built of wood filled up with earth: this castle is round with three galleries about it, one above another, and well furnished with cannon, and thus the entrance up to Petersburgh is sufficiently guarded against every attempt of an enemy by sea: besides, there is no getting up against the strong currents without a favourable wind, and even then it requires a skilful pilot to bring them through. the shoals and fand-banks, which yearly alter their situa-

A fleet of thirty ships of the line, besides frigates and yachts, now lay here ready for sea; and the troops which were encamped in the neighbourhood, were ready to embark on board eighty gallies, and one hundred scampavies, or half-gallies: the czar ordered the ships and gallies out to sea, where they formed the line, and gave a general salute with all their guns, which struck the Tartarian ambassador with surprize and amazement, having never seen the like before; this done, the ships came to an anchor again and the gallies on shore.

His majesty then went to Oranianbaum, a country-house BOOK IV. of prince Menzikof's, opposite to Cronslot, on the side of -Ingria, where a grand entertainment was prepared by the Oraniamprince's directions; from thence he went to Petershoff, a baum, Petershoff, and Cacountry palace of his own, and thence to Catherinehoff, a therinehoff. palace of the czarina's, at both which the company were entertained with royal magnificence. The emperor now returned to Cronflot to go to fea with the fleet, and the empress, with the rest of the company, returned to Petersburgh. From Oranianbaum to Petersburgh the country rises gently from the shore, and abounds with the feats of the grandees. about half a mile distant from each other, which affords a beautiful prospect from the sea.

On the 29th of June, the governor of Wybourg, in Finland, took Nyslot, the capital fortress of the province of Savolaxia, and made the garrison prisoners of war.

The Imperial princess, confort to the czarowitz, was The grand brought to bed of a daughter on the 23d of July, who was and the baptized by the name of Natalia, and had the title of grand prince's behaviour on duchess given her. The czarowitz, at that time, on a pre-the occasion, tended indisposition, had withdrawn himself to Carlsbad. with his Finlandish mistress, but merely to be out of the way at the delivery of his amiable, but unhappy wife: in this disagreeable situation, she had only the princess of East Friefland, a relation of her own, to comfort her. The czar, fenfible of her distress, treated her with the highest esteem, allowed her a splendid court, and spared no cost to aggrandize it, and appointed frequent balls and affemblies at her house on purpose to divert her, and she had everymark of respect and regard shewn her by the czarina; indeed,

BOOK IV. deed, she had greatly endeared herself to them both by the gentleness of her dispositions, and the sweetness of her temper and manner, but the brutal conduct of her husband embittered all. When the czarowitz returned from Carlfbad, which was in confequence of the emperor's express orders, he not only shewed the utmost disregard to the princess, but maltreated those of her court in such a manner, that they were all going to leave her, which ill usage threw her into a deep melancholy; his father's frequent remonstrances on the fubject feemed only to make bad worfe, for he accused her of carrying complaints of him to the czar, and told her plainly, if it was not for the fear of his father's anger, he would turn her whole court out of doors, and oblige her to live after the old Russian custom. Although they lived in the same house, they were such strangers to each other, that they were never feen to eat or converse together, except when he came to upbraid her with her numerous houshold. This was not the only mortification this amiable princess underwent; none of the grandees paid their court to her, except when ordered by his majesty, out of fear of disobliging the prince, so that the foreign ministers were the only persons that could venture to pay her any respect.

All this bad usage of so good a princess was the more surprising, when it is considered she was his own free choice. The czar had sent him to travel for his improvement, and recommended to him the choice of a princess abroad for his wife; and seeing, in the course of his travels, the princess of Wolfenbuttel, sister to the empress of Germany, he made his addresses to her, and wrote to the czar for his consent, which

which was readily granted. His majesty arriving soon after BOOK IV. at Torgau, concluded that unhappy marriage.

It was very remarkable, that the prince never appeared at His diffrespect any of the public meetings, when his majesty was attended to the czar, by all persons of quality and rank, such as birth-days, celebrating of victories, launching of ships, &c. General Bruce, who lived next door to the prince, had orders always to give the prince notice the day before, of fuch public days or meetings, and I had the honour to carry and deliver the message; but his highness, to avoid appearing in public, either took physic, or let blood, always making his excuse, that he could not attend for want of health; when, at the fame time, it was notoriously known that he got drunk in very bad company, when he used constantly to condemn all his father's actions.

Immediately on his majesty's return to Cronslot, he put Naval expeout to sea with the fleet, on an information that the Swedish dition, in which the fleet, under admiral Watrang, had failed with an intention czar was to block him up in the harbour; and that their rear admiral, Ehrenshield, had seized on the port of Twerwin, in Finland, where he had funk feveral of our ships, and taken about two hundred prisoners; by which acquisition, they hoped to be able to repulse any descent on the island of Aland, Our fleet was commanded by admiral Apraxin, vice-admiral Kruys, and, as rear-admiral, the czar himself; and sailed directly in quest of the enemy. The czar was fent to watch their motions; he foon reported their station, and that their vice-admiral, Lilie, was detached with feveral men of war and bomb-vessels, steering towards Revel; he defired the admiral to advance with the fleet, and on rejoining them,

BOOK IV. it was determined to dispatch vice-admiral Kruys in quest of the Swedish vice-admiral, and to fend twenty gallies under the command of general Weyde, and commodore Ifmaiewitz, to pass within the enemy's fleet as near the shore as they could go. The gallies performed this fervice under favour of a calm; the enemy endeavoured to prevent them, and fired many guns at them, but the draught of their large ships did not suffer them to come near enough to do any execution; on which fifteen more gallies were fent under brigadier le Fort. The Swedish admiral hereupon made a fignal for his vice-admiral to return, which he did, without a fingle effort made by admiral Kruys to intercept him, notwithstanding his superiority; for this he was directly put under arrest, and afterwards tried by a court-martial at Petersburg.

His gallant action with Ehrenshield.

The next day our fleet passed close by the enemy, and fustained all their fire, with the loss only of one galley, which had the misfortune to run aground, and they blocked up admiral Ehrenshield, who refusing to surrender to the czar's fummons, by his adjutant-general Jaguzinski, was vigorously attacked at three in the afternoon by the czar's own division, now vice-admiral. The action was gallantly fought on both fides for two hours, when, notwithstanding their superiority in number of guns, the Swedes were boarded and taken, and Ehrenshield, having received feven wounds in the engagement, delivered himself up to our vice-admiral, by whom he was politely received, and by whose express orders he was most carefully attended in the cure of his wounds, none of which were mortal: the czar had ever afterwards a very great regard for him.

The

- 17 14.

The Swedes lost in this engagement one frigate of twenty- BOOK IV. four guns, fix large gallies of fourteen guns each, and three demi-gallies of four each, all taken; they loft also in this action nine hundred thirty-fix foldiers and failors, of whom five hundred feventy-feven were alive, and made prisoners of war. The lofs on our part was, one colonel, two captains, four lieutenants, one adjutant, one hundred and three foldiers, and eighteen feamen, killed; one brigadier, feven captains, feven lieutenants, one enfign, three hundred and nine foldiers, and fixteen feamen wounded; amounting in the whole to one hundred and twenty-four killed, and three hundred and forty-one wounded. The Swedish vessels and prisoners were fent to Revel.

After the victory, the fleet failed to the ifland of Aland, He takes As where the czar landed 16,000 men, and took the fort and land. other posts, intending to transport his troops, encamped at Abo, to this place, distant only twelve leagues from the coast of Sweden, with a design to make a descent at Stockholm; which obliged the Swedes to recall their fleet, under Watrang, to guard their coasts: but it was now too late in the feafon to begin an enterprize of that importance; fo his majesty returned by Revel to Cronslot, where he stopped a few days, and from thence to Catherinehoff, the 18th of September, where he found the czarina delivered of another princefs, to whom he gave the name of Anne.

On the 20th of September, part of our fleet, with the His triumphs Swedish vessels and prisoners being arrived, the czar made al entry at Petersburg. a triumphal entry at Petersburgh, and approaching the admiralty and fort, he was faluted from one hundred and fifty They came up the river in the following order:

BOOK IV.

1714.

- I. Three Russian gallies.
- 2. The three Swedish demi-gallies.
- 3. The fix Swedish gallies.
- 4. The Swedish frigates, all with the Swedish colours hanging down.
  - 5. The czar in his galley as rear-admiral.
  - 6. All the rest of our gallies.

When the gallies came opposite the triumphal arch, which was erected in front of the senate-house and opposite the fort, they saluted with all their guns, which was returned with the like discharge from the cannon of the fort and admiralty; then all the men came a-shore, and began a procession in the following order.

- r. A company of the guards, with major-general Galitzin at their head.
- 2. The cannon that were taken last winter by prince Galitzin from major-general Arenfelt, near Wasa.
  - 3. Sixty-three colours and standards taken in that action.
- 4. Two hundred Swedish subaltern officers, soldiers and seamen.
  - 5. Two companies of the guards.
  - 6. The Swedish sea-officers.
  - 7. The flag of the Swedish rear-admiral.
  - 3. The Swedish rear-admiral Ehrenshield.
- 9. The czar, as rear-admiral, followed by the remainder of the regiment of guards.

As foon as his majesty came under the triumphal arch, the grandees, senators, and foreign ministers, repaired thither to congratulate him on his victory, but the czarowitz neither appeared in person, nor by proxy. The governor of Moscow, in the name of the empire, complimented his majesty

majesty on his bravery, and thanked him for his great and BOOK IV. eminent fervices. The triumphal arch was magnificently adorned with feveral emblematical representations; and amongst the rest, the Russian eagle seizing an elephant, alluding to the Swedish frigate called the Elephant, with this inscription, Aquila non capit Muscas.

The procession proceeded in the same order to the fort, Promoted to where the vice-czar, Romadanofsky, feated on a throne, and furrounded by the fenate, caufed rear-admiral Peter to be called before the affembly, and received from his hands a relation, in writing, of the victory obtained; which being read, they took it into confideration, and proposed several questions to the rear-admiral; after which, they unanimously declared him vice-admiral of Russia, in recompence of his faithful fervices done to his native country; which being proclaimed in the affembly, the whole house refounded with, " Health to the vice-admiral!" The czar having returned them thanks, went on board his floop, where he hoisted his vice-admiral's flag, having received many compliments on that occasion.

His majesty, attended by numbers of the nobility and He compliofficers, went to prince Menzikof's palace, where a grand ments Ehrenshield's entertainment was provided; after dinner, he shewed particular marks of his attention to rear-admiral Ehrenshield; and, addressing the company, he said-" Gentlemen, Here " you fee a brave and a faithful fervant of his mafter, who " has made himself worthy of the highest rewards at his " hands, and who shall always have my favour while he is " with me, although he has killed me many a brave man:"

"I forgive you," faid he, turning to the Swede with a smile, S 2

BOOK IV." and you may ever depend on my good-will."-Ehrenshield, having thanked the czar, answered, -- "However honour-" ably I may have acted with regard to my master, I did " but my duty; I fought death, but did not meet it; and " it is no small comfort to me, in my misfortune, to be a " prisoner of your majesty's, and to be used so favourably. " and with fo much distinction, by so great a sea-officer, " and now worthily vice-admiral." Mr. Ehrenshield affirmed, that the Russians had fought like lions, and that nothing but his own experience could have convinced him, that the czar had made so good soldiers of his subjects; such is the effect of strict discipline, time, and prudence. troops were disciplined in such a manner, and were brought to fuch a degree of reputation, especially the infantry, that there were no troops in the world they would yield to.

> The czar, on this occasion, addressed the following discourse to his senators:

His speech

" Brethren, who is the man among you, who, twenty to the senate. " years ago, could have conceived the idea of being em-" ployed with me in ship-building here on the Baltic, and " to fettle in those countries conquered by our fatigues and " bravery? Of living to fee fo many brave and victorious " foldiers and feamen sprung from Russian blood? And to " fee our fons coming home accomplished men from foreign " countries? Historians place the ancient seat of all sci-" ences in Greece; from whence being expelled by the fa-" tality of the times, they spread into Italy, and afterwards " dispersed themselves all over Europe; but by the per-" verseness of our ancestors, they were hindered from pene-" trating any farther than into Poland; the Poles, as well

"the Germans, formerly groped in the fame darkness in BOOK IV. " which we have hitherto lived, but the indefatigable care " of their governors at length opened their eyes, and they " made themselves masters of those arts, sciences, and so-"cial improvements, which formerly Greece boafted of. It " is now our turn, if you will feriously second my designs, " and add to your obedience voluntary knowledge. I can " compare this transmigration of the sciences to nothing " better than the circulation of the blood in the human " body; and my mind almost prognosticates that they will, " fome time or other, quit their abode in Britain, France, " and Germany, and come and fettle, for fome centuries, " among us; and afterwards, perhaps, return to their ori-"ginal home in Greece. In the mean time, I earnestly re-" commend to your practice the Latin faying, Ora et la-" bora (pray and work); and in that case be persuaded you " may happen, even in your own life-times, to put other " civilized nations to the blush, and raise the glory of the "Russian name to the highest pitch." The senators heard this harangue of their monarch with a most respectful silence; and answered, that they were all disposed to obey his orders and follow his example. Whether they were fincere in their declaration is another question.

The next day a grand entertainment was given at the His refentvice-czar's, Romadamoffky, where a battalion of the guards, ment of the czarowitz's and a company of grenadiers were ordered to attend. Having diffrespect. marched through the whole town, they were drawn up before the vice-czar's palace, and went through their exercise. The czarowitz being yet only a ferjeant of grenadiers, marched all the way on the right, with his halbert on his thoulder,

and.

ing out with her friend the princess of East Friezland, and feeing him march in so grand a manner, fainted away and was carried to bed. When the exercise was over the officers were all invited to the entertainment, but the men remained under arms, and the czarowitz stood upon his post till the battalion marched off again.

This mortification was put upon the czarowitz for his neglect of duty, in not meeting his father at his triumphal entry, nor wishing him joy on his safe arrival: it is certain, a victory by fea gave him greater joy than any other victory whatever; fo that a neglect of this kind was worse taken than any thing elfe that could have happened. However, when his majesty heard of the princess's illness, and what had been the occasion of it, he went to see her, and told her, that she ought not to be surprised at the prince's being a serjeant, for he himfelf had gone through all the lowest degrees both of the land and fea-fervice, till he had rifen by his merit to be a general in the army, and now vice-admiral of the navy; and notwithstanding the prince had not attended to his duty as he ought to have done, yet he had recommended him to the viceczar, and procured him an enfign's commission in the guards, and that he was now come to give her joy on her husband's preferment. This kind condescension in the czar, in a great measure, restored the princess's drooping spirits.

The rejoicings on this occasion continued a considerable time, for the grandees gave entertainments in their turns; but, notwithstanding his majesty's resentment against the prince for his former neglect of duty, he never appeared at any of those public meetings, although he had regular

notice fent to him by general Bruce, who fent me feveral BOOK IV. times to inform him of his majesty's displeasure at his non-\$714. appearance; but the old excuse—want of health—served on every occasion.

As the czar had the welfare and aggrandizing of his He institutes nation very much at heart, he neglected no opportunity to cial afferen accomplish his subjects. He at this time made a regulation blies. for holding affemblies: he appointed two every week to be held at the houses of the grandees alternately; one room being allotted for conversation, one for cards, and one for dancing; to meet at eight o'clock and end at eleven; the mafter of the house to provide a side-board of liquors, which should not be presented until called for, and to find gards and music: free admission to be given to all of the rank of gentlemen, foreigners as well as natives; with their wives and daughters. This new regulation extremely pleafed the ladies, as it freed them from the severe restraint they laboured under, not being permitted to appear in public company; but by this means they both learned to converse and drefs.

His majesty also instituted an academy this winter for the And a royal education of young gentleman; and was at much pains to academy; provide able mafters from abroad for teaching the feveralsciences. He likewise gave orders to the admiralty to get ready, against the ensuing spring, fifty ships of the line. with a great number of gallies and other veffels, to enable him to make a descent on Sweden next year, and to keep his forces employed, as he had been obliged to withdraw his troops from Germany by the king of Denmark's taking Holstein, and the king of Prussia Pomerania under sequestra-

tion ;

BOOK IV. tion; which much displeased the czar, as he wanted, by all means, to have a footing in Germany, and to be admitted a member of that empire; but the emperor, and the rest of the princes of the Germanic body, jealous of his growing power, took this method to get his troops out of their country. The king of Sweden, attended only by colonel During, and two fervants, and travelling three hundred German miles in fixteen days, arrived at Stralfund the 22d of November, and directly commenced hostilities against the Pruffians, which defeated the whole scheme of the Germanic body, by his not agreeing to the sequestration, brought a new enemy on himself, and afforded a decent pretext for the czar to re-enter Pomerania with his army.

Court marmartial on admiral Kruys.

A court-martial was now appointed to enquire into the conduct of vice-admiral Kruys, for not attacking the Swedish fquadron agreeable to his orders; and he was found guilty, and sentenced to be shot for cowardice and neglect of duty. He complained of the feverity of his fentence, alledging that no other nation, conversant in naval affairs, would have passed such a sentence for his conduct on that occafion; which being reprefented to the czar, he transmitted copies of the trial to all the neighbouring maritime powers, especially Holland which was the admiral's native country, for their opinion concerning the sentence; and they all agreed that it was just, and would have been inflicted on any officer, in their respective services, who had been guilty of the like behaviour. This declaration of the maritime powers being shewn to the admiral, he prayed for mercy, which the czar granted with respect to his life, but banished him to Olonetz for the remainder of his days; and having fet out,

out, and travelled one day's journey toward the place of his BOOK IV. exile, his majesty recalled him, then gave him a free pardon, and appointed him one of the commissioners of the admiralty, but was never employed at fea again, in which office he ended his days with credit.

1715.

The czar, this year, instituted the order of St. Catharine, The order of in honour of the czarina, to perpetuate the memory of that St. Catherine. love and fidelity which she manifested towards him in his diffressed fituation, reduced and surrounded by the Turks on the banks of the Pruth. The enfign of the order is a medal, enriched with precious stones, and adorned with the image of St. Catherine, with this motto, For Love and Fidelity: the medal is pendant to a broad white ribbon, wore over the right shoulder. The empress had the liberty of bestowing it on such of her own fex as she thought proper, and appeared in it herfelf for the first time at the festival of St. Andrew this year; the czarina first conferred the order on her two daughters, the princefs Anne, afterwards married to the duke of Holstein, and the princess Elizabeth, afterwards empress of Russia; and some time after she bestowed it on the emperor's three nieces, the daughters of czar John, viz. Anne, duchess dowager of Courland, Catherine, duchess of Mecklenburg, and the princess Paskovia; and also on the princess Menzikof.

His czarish majesty having, with infinite pains and assi- Confusions in duity, been fearching into the causes of the disorders that the revenue, and the conhad crept into the administration of his affairs; and, at fequent diflength discovered from whence it proceeded that his army and fleet had been so ill paid and suffered so much, that many thousand workmen had miferably perished for want of

BOOK IV. Subfistence (it was computed that upwards of one hundred thousand men lost their lives at Petersburgh) his trade decaved, and his revenues in confusion, took a firm resolution to remedy these evils; and in the beginning of 1715, established a grand inquisition under the direction of general Knex Dolgoruky, to examine certain lords and others, who, it was faid, had defrauded his majesty of several millions.

Many delinquents punished.

Most of the great men in Russia were affected by this enquiry, and were obliged to give an account of their con-The great admiral Apraxin, prince Menzikof, and Bruce, mafter of the ordnance, alledged for their excuse their absence in foreign parts, or in the field on duty, so constantly, that so far from being able to discover, or prevent the ill practices of their officers, they were ignorant of what was done at that time in their own houses, which was admitted for their excuse: but their unfaithful officers suffered feverely for their infidelity, as did all others who could not justify themselves. Korsakof, vice-governor of Petersburgh, Kekin, the prefident; and Sinawin, the first commissioner of the admiralty; with an incredible number of other officers of the fecond and third rank, were called to an account; Korsakof publicly suffered the knout; Apouchin and Wolchonsky, both senators, suffered the same, and had red-hot irons drawn over their tongues; some of inferior degree were chastised with the batoags, and were sent into Siberia and other remote places, and all their estates confiscated. Several delinquents were put to the torture to make them confess the truth, as by their law no man can be condemned, if the matter is ever so clearly proved against him, unless he confesses the fact,

The feverest torture they have is the strapado, which is BOOK IV. thus inflicted; they hang up the malefactor with his hands tied behind him, with a large beam fastened to his feet, upon which the executioner every now and then gets up to expedite the diflocation of his joints, which gives exquisite torment; a fire is lighted under his feet, the smoke and heat of which both stifles and burns him. If they want to improve upon this torture they shave his head, and when he is hung up as before, they prepare cold water to drop. from a confiderable fall, on the crown of his head; which is the most exquisite torment that can be invented.

This inquifition, which had filled Petersburgh with such consternation, being ended, things were put on a much better footing to prevent in future such frauds in commisfaries, and lighten the burthen on the shoulders of the people; an entire new fet of officers were appointed, called fiscals, or informers. The fiscal-general was always to attend his majesty; a head, or over-fiscal, was appointed in the army, navy, and one in every government; and ordinary ones were appointed in every regiment, ship, or garrison, and every court in the nation; whose business it was to report every thing they observed wrong in the service or administration to the head fiscals, and they to the fiscal-general, who laid their informations before the czar.

This new fet of men were more feared than the czar himself; some of them being very litigious, and bringing people often into trouble without a cause, whereof we had afterwards too many inftances, which the czar perceiving put a stop to, by inflicting the punishment on them they intended for others, if they could not prove their informations:

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this

BOOK IV. this obliged them to behave with more moderation afterwards.

1715.

Neverthelefs, those against whom an information was given, underwent very great hardships, being, the moment they were arrested, deprived of their falary or pay, to which they can lay no claim till they have cleared themselves of the alledged crime and are reinstated in their office or commission; and if they acquit themselves ever so honourably, they feldom or ever receive their arrears. In case of a furlough, none in the fervice were allowed pay till they entered again upon duty. If an officer, a native Russian, was broke by a court-martial for neglect of duty, he was commonly fentenced to carry arms as a private foldier, and never arrived at his former rank except his merit raised him, and then he lost his feniority. It is to be observed, that if this were not the cafe with the Russians, the greatest part of them would endeavour to be reduced to get free from the army. The distinction made between their pay and that of foreigners, creates no fmall discontent among them and very justly. Officers of equal rank, and in the same regiment, have three different pays; for instance, a captain, who is a foreigner, has eighteen rubles \* a month; a captain, of foreign parents, born in Russia, has fifteen rubles: and a native Ruffian has only twelve rubles; and fo through every rank in the fervice in proportion: this makes them look on all foreigners with an evil eye.

The czar's public enter-tainments.

The czar now gave frequent balls and entertainments at his own winter and summer palaces, and not at prince Menzikost's as formerly; but finding this inconvenient, ordered a large house to be built mid-way between them, for a

general

<sup>\*</sup> The value of a ruble is about 4s. sterling. They have besides, forage, quarters, &c.

general Post-Office, with spacious rooms above thairs for Book IV. public balls and entertainments; but on grand fettivals, and extraordinary occasions, the entertainments were given at the fenate-house; between which and the fort was a spacious open place where they played off the fire-works. Upon these public meetings, a great many tables were covered for all degrees of perfons; one for the czar and the grandees; one for the clergy, one for the officers of the army, one for those of the navy; one for the merchants. ship-builders, foreign skippers, &c. all in different rooms: the czarina, and the ladies, had their rooms above flairs: all these tables were served with cold meat, and sweet meats. wet and dry, interspersed with some dishes of hot meat: these entertainments commonly ended with very hard drinking. After dinner, the czar went from one room and table to another, conversing with every set according to their different professions or employments; especially with the masters of foreign trading veffels, inquiring very particularly into the feveral branches of their trade. At these times, I have feen the Dutch skippers treat him with much familiarity, calling him by no other name but Skipper Peter, with which the czar was highly delighted. In the mean time, he made good use of the information he got from them, always marking it down in his pocket-book.

The emperor having engaged one Mr. Slitter, a famous Mr. Slitter's architect, with a number of good tradefmen in his fervice, perpetuum mobile, he was lodged in the fummer-palace to be near the czar. This gentleman had, at this time, a multiplicity of bufiness on his hands in building palaces, houses, academies, manufactories, printing-houses, &c. and as he had but few hands

for

way, provided he would instruct me in the rules of architecture, which he gladly accepted of, and I attended him every day. The czar was frequently with him, and seeing my drawings, was so much pleased with them, that I was afterwards much employed in drawing his plans, both of civil and military architecture.

Mr. Slitter was of a weak fickly constitution, and being much fatigued with continual business, he sickened and died, when he had been but one year at Petersburg; he had spent much time in endeavouring to contrive a perpetuum mobile, the intense study of which had much impaired his health, and before he died he had brought it the length of being put in motion; the model of his machine was a circular brass frame, eighteen inches deep, and two yards diameter, with hollow plates of the fame metal, four inches in length placed round on the infide, into which a cannon ball was put; the plates being moved by fprings, forced the ball in a perpetual round; each of the plates directing feveral wheels which occasioned many different motions; but the fprings and wheels frequently breaking, it took up much time in repairing them. Mr. Slitter always locked himfelf up when he was at work upon it, and nobody was fuffered to enter the room except the czar, who was frequently shut up with him. After his death, his foreman was employed about it, but he also soon after sickened and died, and the machine was locked up; and I never could learn whether any person afterwards attempted to bring it to perfection. During my attendance on the architect, I only had twice an opportunity of feeing it.

At this time Knez Golitzin, general of our army in Fin-Boctiv. land, fent an old man to Petersburgh, aged one hundred and twenty years; of a healthy constitution, had all his The old Finfenses entire, and walked strait. The czar took much pleafure in conversing with him, and offered to keep him at court, where he might end his days in ease; but the old man begged his majesty to permit him to return to his native place, saying, he had been used to hard labour and spare diet, and if he should now alter his way of living, it would very soon cut him off: if he were allowed to live in his former way, he hoped God would add some few years more to his days; upon which consideration, the czar, having given him a present, sent him home again; I heard six years after this that he was still alive.

There was so severe a frost here this winter, that numbers of people lost their noses, ears, singers, and toes by it; it was very common with people in passing each other to call out to take care of their noses, for these bit by the frost are not sensible of it themselves, when it is easily perceived by others, on seeing the parts affected white with the frost; the only cure is to rub the part with snow, till they recover their feeling; it is dangerous in that condition to enter into a stove, or warm room, as it is commonly attended with the loss of the part affected. The river Neve was covered with ice the latter end of September, and was passable in twenty-four hours, occasioned by large shoals of ice coming down from lake Ladoga; they were cemented by the frost, and as the strong current forces one piece above another, it becomes very thick, and so rugged a surface, that people were em-

ployed

from one part of the city to another; it was the first of
May before the river broke up again, when the people
were warned by the firing of a gun to get off the ice; then
it broke very suddenly with a great noise, and in two or
three hours time there was no more ice to be seen; some
part of it floats down into the sea, but the much greater
part finks to the bottom. Notwithstanding this precaution,
great numbers are drowned here every spring, the break is
so sudden.

Experiment on the bear.

Having been often told, that the bears are buried all winter under the fnow, and have nothing to live on but fucking their paws; as this appeared to me incredible, I procured a cub, and brought him up till he grew very large: I fixed a mast in the ground, with a wheel on the top of it, and put a ring round the mast, with a chain about the bear's neck, placing a large box at the foot of the mast for him to lay in. He used to climb up the mast, and sit upon the wheel, where he played many tricks which were very diverting; I fed him with bread and oats, but never gave him flesh: fometimes he broke his chain, and found his way to fome shops where they fold honey, in the neighbourhood of my quarters, where he used to fill his belly with honey, as they did not dare to prevent him for fear. Upon the falling of the fnow, in the beginning of winter, he took to his box, where he remained a month without once offering to flir out, nor had any thing to eat, but fucked his paws; I laid bread at the door of his hut, but he would not come out to eat it, yet he ate it when thrown in to him. the

the fpring, a young hog happening to stroll too near his BOOK IV. cell, he got hold of it and pulled it in; but all we could do, we could not fave it from him, and after he had once drawn blood and tasted flesh, he grew so fierce that he became unmanageable, attacking every body that came near him, fo that I was obliged to kill him; his skin served me for a cover to my faddle. It is remarkable, that when he was beaten, he would put his nose between his fore-paws, from an instinctive knowledge of his natural weakness, for the least stroke on the nose kills them.

for their skins, and only eat their paws, which is esteemed killing them. a delicious repast; they never shoot them for fear of spoiling the skin, but as the bears commonly build their hut at the root of a tree, they mark the tree, and when they are buried in the fnow, the steam of their breath ascending. makes a hole up through the fnow, by which their den is discovered; the country people go in a body upon sketzers. to prevent their finking down in the fnow, furround the

place, and making a noise, frighten him out of his hut, and as he cannot make his way through the loofe fnow, they

are commonly killed by a stroke on the nose.

The Russians kill many thousands of them every winter Method of

## BOOK V.

Descent upon Sweden.—Birth of the emperor's grandson Peter, and death of the princefs his mother.—The birth of Peter Petrowitz, son to the emperor. — A carnival. — The exar's double eagle. — The exar's attention to improve his capital and country. - His military rewards and punishments. -Thirty tall grenadiers for the king of Prussia. - A horrid murder at Riga.—Contributions on Dantzig.—His scheme in taking Weismar.— Conference with the king of Denmark and arrival at Copenhagen.—The combined fleets.—The Danes alarmed.—Refuse subsistence to the troops. - A conference with the king of Denmark in his capital, with its confequences.—The story of lieutenant general Bohn.—Oppressive scheme of the duke of Mecklenburg.—The diffress of his people.—The exarowitz difappears.—The captain refused leave to quit the Russian service.—The czar's return from Paris.—The return of his army to Petersburgh.— Disorders in his absence redressed. - Attempt to discover a north passage to India.—The fatal expedition of prince Beckwitz.—A new regulation at Petersburgh, and a filk manufactory at Moscow.

воок V.

2715.

S to the operations of this year's campaign, field-marshal count Zeremetof was sent, in the month of March, with 12,000 men, to strengthen the army of the allies in Pomerania, who were to reduce Weismar, the only place the king of Sweden had now left in Germany.

Defcent on Sweden. The czar, as foon as the river and fea were clear from the ice, embarked his troops on board the gallies, and went with them to Cronflot, where he joined his fleet, confifting of fifty ships of the line; he failed from thence to Revel, where he continued to the end of June, and then failed to Gothland, and stationed the fleet so as to prevent the Swedes from sending any reinforcements from Stockholm into Pomerania. In the mean time, a body of cavalry were de-

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tached from the army in Finland, round the Bothnic gulf. to penetrate the northern provinces of Sweden, which threw that kingdom into great confernation. About the middle of September, the czar failed from Gothland to the coast of Sundermania, and landed 15,000 men at Jevel, within a few leagues of the Swedish army, and having laid waste all the country round them, he re-embarked with a great booty and failed to Revel, and from thence to Petersburgh, where he arrived the beginning of October.

On the 22d of that month, the Imperial princess, con-Birth of the fort to the czarowitz, was delivered of a fon, who was bap-emperor's tifed by the name of Peter, and had the title of grand duke ter, and death conferred on him to the great joy of the czar, but that was cess his mofoon interrupted by the death of the princess who brought him into the world, which happened on the ninth day from her delivery, in the twenty-first year of her age, having been married four years and fix days, to a husband utterly unworthy of fo virtuous and every way deferving a princefs. When the was convinced of her end approaching. fhe defired to fee the czar, and when he came, she took her leave of him in the most moving language and affecting manner, recommending her two children to his care, and her fervants to his protection; and having embraced her children, and bedewed them with the tears of maternal affection, she delivered them to the czarowitz, who carried them to his own apartments, but never once returned, or made the least enquiry after their mother and his amiable confort; indeed, he had never, from the day of their marriage to that of her death, nor on the present moving tender scene, shewed the smallest conjugal regard or concern for

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her.

BOOK v. her, fo that she may be faid to have been truly unhappy. When her phyficians would have perfuaded her to take 1715. fome medicine, she said with emotion, "Do not torment " me any more, but let me die in quiet, for I will live no "longer." She expired on the first of November, and her corpfe, by her own defire, was interred, without being embalmed, in the great church of the fortress on the seventh, with all the funeral pomp and honours due to her birth.

Birth of Pe-

On the day after the princes's interment, the empress was ter Petrowitz the emperor's brought to bed of a prince, to the unspeakable joy of the czar; the rejoicings on that occasion lasted eight days, and he was also baptifed by the name of Peter. The solemnities on this occasion were attended with most extraordinary pomp; as fplendid entertainments, balls, and fireworks: at one of the entertainments, three curious pies were ferved up; upon opening the first at the table of the grandees, out stepped a naked female dwarf, having nothing on but a head-dress; she made a speech to the company, and then the pie was carried away; at the table of the ladies, a male dwarf was ferved up in the fame manner; out of the third, at the table of the gentlemen, sprung a covey of twelve partridges, with fuch a fluttering noise, as greatly furprifed the company; in the evening a noble firework was played off, in honour of the new-born Peter, with several curious devices, and on the top of all was this infcription, in large characters:

## HOPE WITH PATIENCE.

A carnival.

These rejoicings were followed by a kind of carnival; the czar having united the patriarchal dignity, and the great

revenues belonging to it to the crown, and to render the BOOK v. character of the patriarch ridiculous in the eyes of the people, he appointed Sotof, his jefter, now in the eightyfourth year of his age, mock-patriarch, who on this occafion was married to a buxom widow of thirty-four, and the nuptials of this extraordinary couple were celebrated in masquerade by about four hundred persons of both sexes. every four persons having their proper dress and peculiar mufical instruments; the persons appointed to invite the company were four of the greatest stammerers in the kingdom; the four running footmen were the most unwieldy gouty, fat men, that could be found; the bride-men, ftewards, and waiters were very old men; and the priest that joined them in marriage was upwards of one hundred years old. The procession, which began at the czar's palace, and croffed the river upon the ice, proceeded to the great church near the fenate-house, was in the following order: first, a sledge, with the four footmen; secondly, another with the stammerers, the bride-men, stewards, and waiters: then followed Knez Romadanofski, the farcical czar, who represented king David in his dress, but instead of a harp, had a lyre, covered with a bear-skin, to play upon; and he being the chief character in the show, his sledge was made in imitation of a throne, and he had king David's crown upon his head, and four bears, one at each corner, tied to his fledge, by way of footmen, and one behind standing and holding the fledge with his two paws; the bears being all the while pricked with goads, which made them roar in a frightful manner; then the bridegroom and bride, on an elevated fledge made on purpole, furrounded with

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cupids

BOOK v. cupids holding each a large horn in his hand; on the forepart of the fledge was placed by way of coachman, a ram with very large horns; and behind, was a he-goat by way 3715. of lacquey; behind them followed a number of other fledges, drawn by different kinds of animals, four to each, as rams, goats, deer, bulls, bears, dogs, wolves, fwine, and affes; then came a number of fledges, drawn by fix horses each, with the company; the fledges were made long, with a bench in the middle, stuffed with hair and covered with cloth; twenty persons in one sledge, sitting behind each other, as on horseback. The procession no sooner began to move, than all the bells of the city began to ring, and all the drums of the fort, toward which they were advancing, began to beat upon the ramparts; the different animals were forced to make a noise; all the company playing upon, or rattling their different instruments, and altogether made such a terrible confused noise, that it is past description. czar, with his three companions, prince Menzikof, and the counts Apraxin and Bruce, were clad like Friefland boors; each with a drum. From church the procession returned to the palace, where all the company were entertained till twelve at night, when the same procession went by the light of flambeaux to the bride's house, to see the young married

This carnival lasted ten days, the company going every day from one house to another, at each of which were tables spread with all forts of cold meat, and with such abundance of strong liquors every where, that there scarce was a soberperson to be found during that time in Petersburgh. On the tenth day, the czar gave a grand entertainment at the

couple fairly bedded.

fenate-

fenate-house, on the close of which, every one of the guests BOOK V. was prefented with a large glass with a cover, called the Double-Eagle, containing a large bottle of wine, which every body was obliged to drink; to avoid this I made my escape, pretending to the officer upon guard, that I was fent on a message from the czar, which he believing, let me pass, and I went to the house of a Mr. Kelderman, who had formerly been one of the czar's tutors, and was still in great favour with him; Mr. Kelderman followed me very foon, but not before he had drank his double-eagle. and coming into his own house, he complained that he was fick with drinking, and fitting down by the table, laid his head on it, and appeared as if fallen asleep; it being a common custom with him, his wife and daughters took no notice of it, till after some time they observed him neither to move or breathe, and coming close up to him found he was stiff and dead, which threw the family into great confusion. Knowing the esteem in which he stood with the czar, I went and informed him of the fudden death of Mr. Kelderman. His majesty's concern at the event, brought him immediately to the house, where he condoled with the widow for the loss of her husband, and ordered an honourable burial for the deceased at his own expence, and provided an annuity for her life. Thus ended that noify carnival, but it was fome time before the members could fully recover their senses.

On the 14th of January, 1716, in the fifty-first year of her age, died Martha Apraxin, czarina dowager, the widow of czar Feodor, his majesty's eldest brother; she was fifter to the great admiral Apraxin; she had only lived

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four weeks in the matrimonial state; her funeral was by torch-light, and the pomp thereof suited to her exalted rank; the corpse was deposited in the church of the fortress, where already lay one prince, two princesses, the czar's children, and the imperial princess.

The czar's attention to improve his capital and country.

The czar was all this time indefatigable in the improvements of his country, not only in building ships, forts, and houses, but he provided his new academy with able masters, to teach all the branches of learning necessary for the education of young gentlemen; he also erected printinghouses, well supplied with able translators of all languages, who translated all the most valuable books then in Europe into the Russian language, his agents abroad buying up the most valuable books, and whole libraries at auctions: and it was truly furprifing, to fee fuch a grand collection already in Petersburgh. Here was also an elegant chamber of rarities, containing every thing that was curious in all the different parts of the world, and likewise a fine collection of coins, medals, &c. &c. over which prefided, as keeper, Mr. Shumacker, a very ingenious and learned man, who had formerly been fecretary to Dr. Erskine, his majesty's chief physician. The famous globe of Gothorp, mentioned before in the observatory, was a present from the king of Denmark, and brought to Petersburgh at a vast expence. The king of Prussia presented the czar with an amber cabinet, reckoned one of the greatest curiofities in Europe of its kind; there was a curious collection of wild beafts, birds, &c. one of the largest elephants in all Asia, with all his warlike accoutrements, attended by feveral Indians; rein-deer, with their fledges, and Laplander attendants; the

Vene-

Venetian gondolas, with their gondoliers, &c. &c. all which BOOK V. shews, that the czar intended, in the course of time, to make Russia worthy the observation of every traveller.

At Moscow he erected large manufactories for woollen and linen cloth, as also glass-works for making window-glass and looking-glass, under the direction of Englishmen. The Russians had formerly only used isinglass for their windows and coaches; for at the building of Petersburgh, they were obliged to take all their glass from England. they shipped yearly great quantities of hemp to all parts of Europe, yet they were obliged to bring their fail-cloth and cordage, manufactured abroad, from their own hemp. To remedy this evil, the czar erected manufactories for failcloth, and rope-walks at Moscow, Novogrod, and Petersburgh; and that nothing might be wanting for the improvement of his country, skilful miners were got from Hungary and Saxony, who discovered metals of all forts, gold, filver, copper, lead, and iron; which last article they were obliged formerly to purchase from Sweden, but they now supply other countries with it.

It was furprifing to fee fo many great things undertaken and put in execution by one fingle perfon, without the affishance and help of any one; his own great genius and indefatigable application to things, prefiding over all, and feeing every thing with his own eyes, without trusting to the reports of others; fo that never monarch was less imposed on than himself. It is to be observed, that the natives, from the highest to the lowest, if they discover any thing of value in their grounds, let it be of what quality it will, keep it a secret, less their slaves should be employed to work it; so all discoveries of

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luable things remain undiscovered, which otherwise might redound to the riches of this nation.

In the month of February, colonel Swarts arrived here from Casan; he had been sent thither with a German regiment of twelve hundred men, composed of the Swedish prisoners, and now brought intelligence that he had fallen in with a body of six thousand Cuban Tartars, who had made an irruption into the kingdom of Casan, and were returning home with about eight thousand Russian captives whom they were carrying into slavery; that he had not only relieved the captives, but defeated the Cubans, and made a great number of them prisoners, among whom was the chan's son, whom he caused to be hanged up immediately, with several of his companions in robbery: for this fervice the czar made him a present of an estate of an hundred boors.

His military rewards and punishments. It was an invariable maxim with the czar to reward merit wherever he found it: after a victory by fea or land, every officer was prefented with a gold chain and medal, of a value proportioned to his rank, and every foldier a filver one, or a month's pay in lieu of it; and the officer who had distinguished himself out of the common way had the first promotion: on the other hand, the foldier or officer who had misbehaved, was punished with great severity. The czar took no notice of people on account of their high birth and family, but promoted merit in every station, even in the meanest plebeian, saying, that high birth was only chance, and if not accompanied with merit ought not to be regarded. History scarce affords an example where

fo many people of low birth have been raifed to fuch digni- BOOK V. ties as in czar Peter's reign, or where fo many of the highest birth and fortune have been levelled to the lowest ranks in life.

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On the 6th of February, their majestics set out for Dantzig, accompanied by the princess Catherine, second daughter of czar Ivan, (or John) and niece to his majesty, and arrived the 20th. On the 10th of April, the princess was married to Charles Leopold, duke of Mecklenburgh.

I was ordered this winter to discipline thirty grenadiers, Thirty talk intended for a present to the king of Prussia; they were grenadiers for the king collected from different parts of the czar's dominions, and of Pruffia, were from fix feet fix, to fix feet nine inches high, without shoes; they were taught the Prussian exercise, armed in their manner, and clad in their uniform and caps: amongst the number, there was one Indian, who had attended the elephant, one Turk, two Persians, and three Tartars, and

By orders from prince Menzikoff, I set out on the 25th of March from Petersburgh, to conduct the thirty grenadiers to Berlin; and as the roads were still good for travelling on the fnow, we were furnished with horses and sledges to Riga: we arrived at Narva the 30th, and at Riga the 12th of April, where I rested three days to refresh the men. Here we faw twelve men broke alive upon the wheel; their crime was as follows:

it might probably be faid with propriety, that no prince in the world had a guard composed of so many different nations as the king of Prussia, considering the presents of men

fent him from all parts of Europe.

A man who kept a tavern, or inn, without one of the A horrid gates of the city, and had also a windmill on his ground, murder at Riga.

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BOOK v. having detected one of his men-fervants in feveral frauds, turned him away, and retained his wages for fome little indemnification; the fellow, at his going away, threatened his mafter he would make him repent detaining his wages: whereupon he went and affociated himfelf with eleven more as bad as himself. Soon after this they went to the house in the middle of the night, and meeting one of the maidfervants going for water, they murdered her, and put her body under the ice; they then entered the house and stables, and murdered three other women, and five men-fervants; at last, they entered the landlord's apartments, and murdered his wife and three of his children before his face: the fourth, a boy of five years old, had hid himself in the confusion, below a bed unperceived; they then forced the landlord to open all his chefts and drawers, and carried away what was portable and valuable out of the house; they then tied the landlord neck and heel to the foot of a large table, at which they fat down and regaled themselves with the best things the house afforded: here they concluded putting hay and straw in all the apartments, and then set the house on fire, that the villain of a landlord, as they called him, might be burnt alive, and which would also consume the murdered bodies, and prevent any possibility of discovery; and to make all fure, they brought the fervant maid's body from under the ice, and laid it down by her living master: after this well-laid plot, they fet the house on fire, and fied with their booty. The little boy, who was hid under the bed, was forced from thence by the fmoke, and the father perceiving the child called to him, and defired him to take a knife out of his pocket, and cut the cord from off his hands,

hands, which the child did: the father being thus cleared, BOOK v. took his little fon in his arms, and made his way through the flames, and immediately retired into the covered way of the town, for fear of being discovered by any of the villains who might be still lurking near the place. The house and outhouses being all in flames, the governor ordered the gates to be opened, and fent out a party of men to try to fave what they could from the fire; but before they could get to the place all was burnt to the ground; fo that the plot of those villains was so well laid, that if it had not been owing to the miraculous prefervation of the child and his father, it might have remained a fecret to this day. The landlord discovering himself to the officer that was at the head of the detachment, intreated that he might be privately carried to the governor, to whom he discovered the whole of this dreadful scene, and who gave orders to secure and examine all persons who should enter the town that morning; by which caution the villains, apprehending themselves secure from every possibility of discovery, as all evidence had perished in the fire, were, on their entering the town, every one taken.

The 16th of April I fet out from Riga, and went by Mittau and Polangen, and arrived at Memel the 24th, having travelled all the way in waggons; from hence I went by water to Staken, passing the haff, or bay of Courland, which is fifteen German miles, and from thence to Konigfberg, where I arrived on the 26th; where I was kindly received, and great care was taken of the men, as they were to be of the king's guards. It being rumoured about the town that these men were of several different nations, it brought

BOOK V. great crouds of people to fee them. We remained here in free quarters to the 2d of May, when I fet off for Elbing, and arrived at Dantzig the 5th, when I found the city fo crouded, that I could not get my men quartered there, and was obliged to march forward to Closter of Oliva. There were at this time refiding in Dantzig, the czar and czarina, king Augustus of Poland, and the duke and duchess of Mecklenburg, with all their numerous retinues; the czar was at present gone to Pillau to review forty-five of his gallies, that were arrived there from Petersburgh, with eight thousand men on board; I waited, therefore, upon the czarina, who ordered me to ftay at Oliva till his majesty's return, which happened on the 9th; and he came next day with the duke of Mecklenburgh to Oliva, where he reviewed the grenadiers, making them go through their exercise, and was very well pleafed with their performance: his majesty then ordered me to proceed to Berlin, by flow marches, for fear of fatiguing the men.

His contributions on Dantzig.

The Dantzigers did not feem much pleafed either with the czar, or the king of Poland at this time; who had obliged the city not only to renounce all commerce with the Swedes, but to equip four ships of war to cruise against them; and also to pay the czar one hundred thousand rix-His majesty setting out from thence, the 10th, for Mecklenburgh, with all his retinue, was faluted by one hundred and fifty pieces of cannon, to convince him they were in no want of artillery. I fat out with my men the next day, and got to Stolpe the 15th, where I understood that the czar and the king of Prussia had held a private conference three days before; in which they had agreed, as I afterwards

wards learnt, not to fuffer the king of Sweden to make any BOOK v. attempt on the dominions of the Dane; nor to affift the Danes in any attempt against the Swedes, who were already fufficiently reduced; having lost all their foreign provinces, and had now nothing left but Sweden itself.

I cannot here omit mentioning the czar's designs relative His scheme to the town and fort of Weismar, which lay very conve- Weismar, nient for the duke of Mecklenburgh, being near to Schwerin and Rostock. The czar had promised the duke to take that place from the Swedes, and put him in possession of it: for this purpose he affembled an army of twenty-fix thousand men to beliege it; but the troops of Denmark, Prussia, and Hanover, having got possession of it, put each two battalions of their troops in garrison, without admitting any of the Ruffian troops, which entirely frustrated that design, to the no small disappointment of the czar. This transaction of the allies he could never digeft, but refented it upon every occasion, as will be afterwards seen in the intended defcent on Schonen, and other transactions. The czar had it always much at heart to get footing in Germany: first, he offered to affift the emperor with twenty-five thousand men, at his own expence, against France, if he should be admitted a member of the Roman empire; but in this he was disappointed; secondly, by the marriage of his niece with the duke of Mecklenburgh, and promifing him Weifmar; intending thereby to get a fafe harbour for his shipping in those parts. It was afterwards proposed to the duke to exchange Mecklenburgh for an equivalent, which must have been either Courland or Livonia. But the princes of the empire having grown very jealous of the czar's exorbitant power, frustrated him in all his views of getting any footing in the empire.

Even

EOOK v. Even the regent of France interested himself so far as to get the czar's promise to withdraw his forces out of Germany.

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On the 16th of May, I fet out from Stolpe, and arrived at Berlin the 27th, with all the men, in good health and high spirits. I was conducted, by an officer upon guard, to the house of field-marshal count Wartensleben, to whom I delivered a letter from prince Menzikoss; the field-marshal immediately ordered the men into quarters of refreshment, till the king should return from Potsdam, which he did in two days after; and when his majesty reviewed the men, he declared they were the best shaped, and handsomest men of their sizes, he had ever seen; and was very much pleased with them. When I had delivered up my charge, I retired; and the next day the field-marshal presented me with a purse of two hundred ducats: the distance between Petersburgh and Berlin is 1210 Russian wers, or 807 English miles.

As many of my relations refided in and about Berlin, from whom I had now been absent ten years, I passed three months very agreeably among them: they endeavoured to persuade me to-leave the Russian, and return to the Prussian service, from an opinion that it might easily be obtained at present, as I had just brought his majesty the most desireable present he could receive; and my friends consulted field-marshal Wartensleben and general Gerodorf about it, who were both of opinion, that it might be easily accomplished at present, if I could obtain my discharge from the Russian service. While my relations were using all their interest to get this change brought about, an express was brought me from field-marshal count Zeremetof, with orders to join him immediately at Rostock, in Mecklenburg, and to attend him as aid-de-camp to Denmark,

Denmark, as he had none at that time that could speak the BOOK v. language. Upon which I fet out immediately from Berlin, and I arrived at Rostock the 24th of August; the marshal set out next day for Warnemunde, where we found our troops embarking.

His majesty the czar had held a long conference with conference the king of Denmark at Ham and Horn, near Hamburgh, with the king of Denmark, which lasted from the 28th of May to the 4th of June; in and arrival at Copenhagen. which a descent upon Schonen was agreed upon and concerted. On the 5th of June, the czar set out for Pyrmont. to drink the waters; and returned the 30th to Schwerin, the residence of the duke of Mecklenburgh. The 4th of July, he went to Rostock and Warnemunde, where the forty-five gallies were arrived from Dantzig, with eight thousand troops on board, with which he then fet fail for Denmark, and was met at Provestein by his Danish majesty, who went on board the czar's galley, and they arrived together at Copenhagen the 17th.

On the 28th of August, marshal Zeremetoff set fail from Warnemunde with ten thousand men, and arrived at Copenhagen the 20th. The marshal going ashore to the house fitted up for him in the city, the custom-house officers came on board to fearch his baggage, but were prevented by the officer then upon guard; upon which they stopped the ship from entering the harbour, and I was fent to the customhouse to know why the ship, with the marshal's baggage, was hindered from entering into the harbour? There they told me it was to fearch for merchandize; I replied, it was not customary for Russian generals to turn merchants, and asfured them there was no merchandize at all on board the

jurious treatment: upon this an order was fent to bring the fhip into the harbour, and upon landing the baggage, the custom-house officers had a watchful eye on every thing that was brought on shore. The next day, a gentleman was fent from court to the marshal, to apologise for the indecent behaviour of the custom-house, and to assure him the officers concerned in that rudeness were all fined and turned out of their places.

The combined fleets.

At this time admiral Norris, and rear admiral Graves, lay before Copenhagen with an English and Dutch squadron, to whom the czar now proposed to join the Russian and Danish sleets, and drive the Swedes into port; which was agreed to, and the czar to command the combined sleet, with admiral Norris to command the van, the czar the centre, and the Danish vice-admiral the rear divisions; and admiral Graves was to convoy the trade of both nations to their respective harbours. The czar accordingly hoisted his imperial slag, and weighed with the sleet; but passing by Bornholm, they were informed that the Swedish sleet were gone to Carlscroon; upon this the combined sleet separated; the czar went to Stralsund, embarked his troops that were quartered there, and carried them to Copenhagen.

The Danes alarmed.

By this augmentation, our army confifted of 24,000 men, all encamped very near the capital, which roused the jealousy and alarmed the sears of the Danes so much, that they drew their forces together from all parts of Zealand to Copenhagen; great part of which were encamped upon the ramparts all round it, and they placed a strong guard at every

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gate, with strict orders not to suffer above one hundred Russians to enter the city at once to get water, as there was none elsewhere to be got. This water was brought from the king's park, a confiderable distance, into the city through pipes: but one hundred men being found infufficient to carry water for fuch an army, they permitted fifty more to enter at a time, one party being ready to enter as foon as the other came out; but as they were often hindered from funplying themselves by the Danish soldiers, who thought themfelves entitled to be first ferved, this occasioned great diforders: at last, it came to blows, and several were killed and wounded on both fides: the Ruffians finding the guard too partial to their own people, feized, difarmed, and drove them off. After they arrived at the camp, they began to dig for water every where, and happening upon one of the pipes that conveyed the water into the city, they cut it, by which they were afterwards very well supplied: but being ill fupplied with fire-wood for dreffing their victuals, they began to cut down the trees in the park, and had cut down a great number before a stop could be put to it by their officers; feveral of the ring leaders were feverely punished for it.

The Danes had agreed to serve us with provisions only for Refuse subthe 16,000 men the czar stipulated to bring to their assist- troops. ance, and now refused subsistence for the 8000 brought from Stralfund, alledging they came without their confent or knowledge: fo that from henceforth there was nothing but jealousy and mistrust on both sides, which, however, did not interrupt the court diversions of balls, assemblies, and masquerades. During the three months the czar was

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BOOK v. at Copenhagen, he attentively vifited their colleges and academies, and faw every thing that was curious in the place: 1716. he went also almost every day out in a boat, founding and furveying the coasts both of Denmark and Sweden so exactly, that the least bank of fand did not escape his observation: and he laid down the whole in a chart. One day when he was coasting Schonen, to discover a proper landing-place, on his return he met with a fresh contrary gale of wind, which prevented his reaching Copenhagen with day-light; the czarina fent to the governor to defire the gate might be left open till the czar's arrival, which he promifed to do; and upon my being fent by the marshal to see if this was complied with, I found it shut; and was told by the officer of the guard that the keys were fent to the king. I reported this to the marshal, who went himself to the governor, who, after fome frivolous apology, that the keys had been fent by mistake to the king, told him, now that his majesty was at rest, he durst not disturb him. It was one o'clock in the morning before the czar could make the land, and not being able to make the harbour, or get the boat near the shore, he jumped out up to the neck in water, waded ashore, and walked in his wet clothes all the way up to the gates, which finding shut, he returned to the fuburbs, went into the lodging of an officer of his own guards, where he shifted himself with the officer's linen and. clothes, and rested the remaining part of the night: in the morning he dreffed in the officer's regimentals, and although they were much too short for him, yet he walked up the city in them, where he was met by the czarina, the marshal, and several others. Many were the apologies for the mistakes

mistakes and blunders committed, and both the governor BOOK v. and colonel of the guard were put under arrest; but the czar laughed at it, and interceded for them, faying, they had only done their duty; and they were accordingly releafed

1716.

A few days after this the two crowned heads met, and held A conference a council of war, attended only by their prime ministers and of Denmark, with its confield-marshals, thereby to keep the measures they were to sequences. take a profound fecret: it was refolved at this meeting to make a descent on Schonen without loss of time. Notwithstanding the method taken to keep this intended expedition a feeret, it was immediately known all over the city, infomuch, that I heard every step that was to be taken from a Danish officer in a public coffee-houses. When I informed the marshal thereof, he was very much surprised; and the czar, with the prime minister, coming at the time to dine with him, he repeated what I had heard in the town, wherewith the czar feemed very much dissatisfied.

The troops, however, were all in motion getting ready to embark, and a demand was made for one month's provision for the army; to which we were told, there was no occasion for any, as there had been a plentiful harvest at Schonen, where we would meet with every thing we stood in need of; and besides, as there was an open communication with Copenhagen, we could be supplied from thence as we had occasion. The czar not relishing this, told the king it was now too late in the year to attempt fuch an enterprize, as nothing was provided beforehand, and therefore it ought to be laid aside till next spring; but if his majesty was refolved to venture on the descent this season, the czar,

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BOOK v. agreeable to the treaty made at Stralfund, would affift him with the fifteen battalions therein stipulated. 3716. then defired the affiftance of thirteen more battalions, which the czar refused, saying, that he had occasion for his troops elsewhere. To this the king returned, that fince matters frood thus, he defired none of his troops, and wished that they might all speedily be withdrawn from his dominions, that the transports which cost him 40,000 rixdollars a month might be discharged: accordingly, all our troops embarked on the 10th of September, and we lay near a month windbound before Copenhagen, and became fo distressed for fire-wood, which was not to be procured at any price, that the czar ordered ten of his gallies to be cut up for that pur-

pose, and distributed among the fleet.

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The flory of lieutenantgeneral Bohn.

While we were at Copenhagen, a circumstance happened to a lieutenant-general of our fervice, whose name was Bohn, which I cannot omit mentioning. He was born on the island of Bornholm, where his father had been a minifter; his mother was left a very poor widow, and now hearing that her fon was at Copenhagen, a general in the Ruffian fervice, the came to fee him, and calling at his lodgings, was told by his fervants that he was not at home: she defired the fervants to tell their master that she was his mother, and was come from Bornholm on purpose to see him, and would call again next morning. Upon this information, the general flew into a great passion, saying, his mother had been dead many years ago, and that this must be fome needy person or other, or perhaps, out of her mind; and ordered his aid-de-camp, if she called again, to give her ten ducats, and fend her away, that he might not be farther

farther troubled with her. The mother calling next morn- BOOK v. ing, the aid-de-camp did as he was directed, and offered her the ten ducats as his master's charity; she threw them with difdain upon the ground, and faid, with tears in her eyes, she did not come to beg charity, but to see her son; and fince he could both deny and despite his mother, she would return from whence the came, and trouble him no more. This made fo great a noise all over the town, that it came to the czarina's ears: The fent for the woman, who foon fatisfied the empress that she was the general's mother: he was fent for, and received a reprimand for his unnatural behaviour, and was ordered to fettle two hundred rubles a year on his mother for her life, which was complied with: and he was, in the mean time, twitted with general Baur's generous behaviour to his poor relations, who was not ashamed of them, though of a lower degree than his. This reprimand put the general into great confusion, and he was afterwards very much difregarded.

We weighed from Copenhagen early in the morning of the 12th of October, with a fresh breeze at North, and arrived the next day at Warnemunde, in Mecklenburgh; the whole army difembarked the fame day and encamped. Two days after our departure from Copenhagen, the czar had a grand entertainment from the Danish monarch, and having taken leave of that court, fat out next day, with the empress, in his way to Hamburgh, and having passed the Belt, and taken a view of Toningen and Frederickstadt, proceeded for Lubeck and Schwerin.

Field-marshal count Zeremetof was now ordered to march Oppressive with 12,000 men through Pomerania into Poland; and duke of 12,000 burgh.

1716.

BOOK V. 12,000 men were quartered in Mecklenburgh, under the command of general Weyde, at the duke's own defire, as a means to diffress and humble the nobility of his country. who were at law with him at the Imperial court to fupport their rights. When the marshal was fent into Poland, with part of the army, I was ordered, on account of the language, to remain with general Weyde as his aid-decamp, at his own request: we were quartered at Gustrow, and the army upon the estates of the nobility, by an order from the duke himself, who laid them under most oppresfive contributions, which utterly ruined them: they had recourse to the Imperial court, and the diet of the empire, for rediefs of their grievances, who did all they could to perfuade the czar to withdraw his troops out of Germany: but the czar was now gone from Schwerin to Havelberg, where he had a private interview, for two days together, with the king of Pruffia, and then went to Hamburg, and from thence to Amsterdam, where he arrived the 6th of December, and waited for the arrival of the empress, who, when she was preparing to set out from Wesel, was delivered of a prince, the 2d of January, 1717; but the child died the day it was born, fo that it was the 10th of February before the arrived at Amsterdam; and their majesties went to the Hague the oth of March, where they continued till the 4th of April.

1717.

A report was spread that the circular troops of the empire were forming an army upon Grander Heyde, near Hamburgh, with an intention to diflodge our troops in Mecklenburgh; upon which our army took the field, and encamped at Gadebush, under the command of lieutenant-

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general

general Lacy, major-general Slippenbach, and bregadier-ge- BOOK v. neral Le Fort; general Weyde was then indisposed at Guftrow, and fent me to Grander Heyde to learn what number of troops were encamped there; when I came I could neither fee nor hear of any troops being assembled at that place: I then proceeded to our resident in Hamburgh, to obtain intelligence, but instead of hearing of any circular troops forming against us, it was currently reported there, that the Russian army were going to make an irruption into the electorate of Hanover; which false report so much alarmed the Hanoverians, that many of the people of property moved off their effects, to fecure them in Hamburgh, and other places of fafety: all this being occasioned by our forming a camp at Gadebush, so that we were alarmed on both sides without the smallest foundation. Upon my return to Gustrow, and reporting what had past, I was immediately difpatched to our camp, with orders for our army to break up and return to their quarters. This false alarm being over foon fettled people's minds again; but the poor fubjects of Mecklenburgh, were daily more and more haraffed by our troops, at the despotic commands of their unrelenting prince, which occasioned many petitions from the ladies of the nobility and gentry, to the duchess, to commiserate their deplorable fituation, and intercede for their relief. She really pitied their miserable condition, but could not prevail with the duke to shew them the smallest favour; on which she determined to fend an express to the czar, to plead in behalf of the distressed people, and to lay before him feveral grievances of her own: but as she could fend none of her own domestics without the duke's knowlege, she therefore fent

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BOOK IV. Mr. Bestuzof, then gentleman of her bed-chamber (after-- terwards great chancellor of Russia), to general Weyde, defiring the general to fend an express, in his own name, to the czar: upon this the general fent me with Mr. Bestuzof to Schwerin, to receive the duchess's commands, and to get into the duchess's apartment unknown to the duke, who was of a very suspicious temper. We went by a back door through the garden, and on entering the house, he was the first person we met, which put us into some confusion; we made him a low bow, and past without his speaking a word, or taking any notice of us; but instead of going directly to the duchess as we had proposed, Mr. Bestuzof conducted me to his own apartments, where I remained till it was dark, when I was introduced to the duchess who gave me my instructions, with which I returned the same night to Gustrow. The general having by this time prepared his difpatches, I fet out next day on my way to Holland, and arrived at Amsterdam the 8th of May; but the czar being gone from thence to Paris, I waited upon the czarina, who ordered me to follow his majesty; and having received her packet, I set out the next day and got to Paris the 13th, fix days after his majesty's arrival. The reception and honours paid the czar at Paris are so well known, that it would be tedious to repeat them; I shall only therefore just mention that it was now the duke of Orleans (regent of France) ob-

> Having received his majesty's dispatches for Amsterdam, on the 3d of June, I set out and arrived there the 9th; and receiving her majesty's commands, I set out thence the

> tained a promise from him to withdraw his troops from the

German dominions.

next day and got to Schwerin the 16th, where I delivered BOOK v. both their majesty's dispatches into the duches's own hands. The contents of what I brought were fo very acceptable, that I met with a very gracious reception, and had a handsome present made me; and, to prevent discovery, I left Schwerin privately in the night time, and fet off for Gustrow. The czar's dispatch to general Weyde, brought him orders to levy no more contributions on the inhabitants of that country.

The duke was fo much diffatisfied with this new order, The diffress of his people. that he employed his own troops to exact contributions from them, with greater rigour than ever, which reduced his nobility to the necessity of felling their plate and jewels, and at last their equipages and furniture, and became so entirely ruined, that they were obliged to fly their country; and their boors for the most part, went into the Prussian territories, where they offered themselves, with their wives and children, for vaffals or flaves. At the defire of fome of my friends, I engaged a number of these poor families for their behoof, and that with the consent of their late owners who told me that they had no farther use for them, being reduced to fo low a state that they were left without the means to cultivate and fow their lands for want of cattle and feed; fo that their mifery and calamity were past defcription, which made the princes of the empire interest themselves earnestly in their behalf, in an application to the czar to withdraw his troops from thence, which was foon after complied with, and the affair at last ended in the utter ruin of the duke himself, for his country was put under

fequestration, and he was obliged to live several years an exile at Dantzig.

. When we fet out on our expedition to Denmark, the czarowits had his fathers's express orders to attend him; he rather chose to absent himself than obey, and absconded without the knowlege of any body: messengers were sent all over Europe in quest of him, and he was at length difcovered at Naples, by captain Romantzof of the guards. The captain acquainted count Tolstoi, our ambassador at Vienna, with the discovery, and the count went to him at Naples, and perfuaded and prevailed with him to return to Moscow, and submit himself to his father's clemency, assuring him that no prince in Europe would risque the czar's resentment by protecting him.

The captain refused leave to quit the Russian service.

My friends at Berlin had by this time procured me a company in general Gerodorf's regiment of the Prussian army, if I could procure my discharge from the Russian service: and as I had a company in their artillery under general Bruce, and was aid-de-camp to general Weyde, I applied to them both, and to prince Menzikof for my discharge, but could by no means obtain it; fo I was obliged to continue in the Muscovite service, very much against my inclination, nor could I think of quitting it without my difcharge, knowing I could not be admitted into the Prussian. fervice without it.

The latter end of June, we received orders from the czar to march out of Mecklenburgh, after nine months free quarters, leaving four battalions there for the duke's fervice. at his defire; and we began to march the first of July. By those:

those and 4000 of his own troops, he thought to prevent the BOOK V. circular troops from entering his territories. Our army were no fooner gone, than he got intelligence that a body of Hanoverians were on their march to enter into his territories. upon which he ordered general Schwerin, with his own and the Ruffian troops, to secure the pass which was at a milldam, by which the Hanoverians were to enter; there the Duke's forces entrenched themselves with several pieces of cannon. The Hanoverians advancing, endeavoured to force their way, and a very bloody rencontre enfued, in which a number were killed and wounded on both fides, and the Hanoverians obliged to retire: but upon a complaint being made to the czar, that his troops had been the aggreffors, he ordered them to leave Mecklenburgh and join our army; the duke's troops foon followed and were retained in the czar's service, and the duke himself retired to Dantzig.

On the 13th of July, our army assembled at new Brandenburg, and we marched through Stettin and Landsberg, to Polish Schwerin, where we arrived the 25th; and as we were now in the dominions of Poland, we rested till the 7th of August, and then marched by Friedland to Tuchol the 1st of September, where we were to remain till farther orders.

The czar left Paris the 21th of July, and travelled by the The czar's way of Soiffons, Charleville, Namur, Huy, and Liege, tak- Paris. ing a minute view of all the fortifications in his way, but more particularly at Namur, where the governor shewed his majesty a most respectful attention during his stay; he arrived at Spa the 28th, where he stopt to drink the waters, and went the 2d of August for Amsterdam, in which city

the

month's stay at Amsterdam, in which time he had several private conferences with baron Gortz, minister to the duke of Holstein, at Loo, (a palace belonging to the prince of Orange), the czar set out the 2d of September on his way to Berlin, and arrived there the 19th; and the czarina in three days after, being met at some distance from the city by the queen of Prussia, and the margravine of Brandenburgh, who conducted her into Berlin; where the duke and duches of Mecklenburgh came to pay them a visit.

The return of his army to Petersburgh.

Their majesties continued here but three days, and then took the route for Dantzig, where they arrived the 15th of September, and where general Weyde waited on the czar to receive his commands. His majesty set out on his journey for Petersburgh, and we returned to Tuchol the first of October. Mr. Gruzinsky, a commissary appointed by the king of Poland, attended us through Poland, till we arrived in the Russian territories. We began our march on the 2d of October, by Warfaw, Wilda, (the capital of Lithuania), Riga, and Narva, passing many rivers in our way, fuch as the Vistula, or Weixel twice, twice over the Weper; and over the Zaas, Memel, Wilda, Swenta, Dwina, and Narva; as we were in no hurry, resting in good quarters, four days in every week, and plentifully supplied with provisions, we spent seven months most agreeably on this march, and arrived at Petersburgh the 19th of February; the distance from Gustrow, our head quarters in Mecklenburgh, to Petersburgh, is 1,959 Russian wersts, or 1,306 English The Polish commissary, Gruzinsky, was handsomely rewarded, by the czar, for providing fo plentifully for the troops.

The czar having arrived at Petersburgh on the 21st of BOOK V. October, after an absence of sixteen months, a multiplicity of affairs of great importance waited his return. Great Diforders in charges were exhibited against those who had been entrusted his absence, redressed, with the reins of government in his absence: in order to examine into the accusation against the parties concerned he attended the fenate every morning at four o'clock; but finding it would require much time to judge those who were accused, he erected an extraordinary court of justice, to enquire into these matters. Wolchonsky, the governor of Archangel, and many others being capitally convicted. fuffered death; many more were knouted and fent into banishment.

Various attempts had been made by the czar's orders and An attempts directions, with ships from Archangel, to discover a north north passage passage to the East Indies; but that was found impractic- to India. able, by reason of the many large shoals of ice, like islands, floating upon those seas. Before the czar set out for Germany, he fent a gentleman who understood the mathematics, as his envoy, with presents to several of the northern. Tartar princes, to discover if there was a continuation of the fea to China, by the north of Tartary. This gentleman being returned, reported that he met a very friendly reception, and great civility from many of the Tartarian. princes, who escorted him for his fafety from one to another. till he came within the 70th degree of north latitude, to a province called lakuti, on the river Lena, which empties. itself into the Frozen Sea at So degrees, near an island. called Tazata, the prince of that country would neither accept his presents, nor suffer him to proceed down the river;

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BOOK v. but threatened if he did not return from whence he came, he would give orders to cut him and his men to pieces; this put an end to his farther progress and discoveries, and he was obliged to return. He made a very accurate map of the feveral Tartar kingdoms through which he passed, with a particular description of the countries and the inhabitants, much more than was before known of those wild parts; which map, &c. he prefented to the czar. Hé reported, that they were all vagabond Tartars, living in tents, and fnifting their refidence from place to place for pasturage, as all their riches confifted in herds of cattle; but he obferved a fort of houses, or huts, on the sides of rivers, and fome corn, and in these situations their chams generally refided. But while the northern Tartars remain fo favage, it will be impossible to make a full discovery of those parts.

The fatal ex-

About this time his majesty received a very disagreeable pedition of prince Becke- account of the issue of an attempt that was made on the east fide of the Caspian sea, towards Usbeck Tartary. The czar having been informed, that great quantities of gold fand came down the river Daria, he fent prince Alexander Beckewitz, at the head of 3000 men, to land at the mouth of that river, and build a fort there; and then to proceed farther up the country to discover the mines from which this gold fand came; the prince accordingly built a fort without the fmallest opposition, although the Usbeck Tartars were upon the very fpot; but, instead of hindering, they gave him every affistance in their power, providing the troops with all kinds of provisions, and maintained a most friendly intercourse with each other. The fort being finished, the prince wanted to proceed up the river to discover the mines, which

which the Tartars observing, told him, if he proposed to BOOK v. follow the course of the river, he would find it unsurmountable, by its many turnings and windings; and if he wanted only to come to the mines, there was a much nearer way by land, which they could march in three days, and that they were ready to conduct them. The prince, trusting to their feeming friendship, and having no reason to fear their inconsiderable number, left a captain with 200 men to garrison the fort and secure the ships; set out through a defert with his Tartarian guides, and having marched feven days, instead of three, they were in the utmost distress for water; and, at length, after abundance of fatigue, they arrived at the mines, but found there, before them, the cham of Usbeck with 50,000 of his Tartars, who now, with every appearance of friendship, offered prince Beckewitz all the assistance in his power; assuring him, since he understood that the prince was to erect a fort there, he would give orders to his people to provide materials for the building; and offered to canton the army in the kibbits, or tents, with his own men, as they had fuffered so much on their march through the defert for want of water, and might now be distressed for provisions, with which he also offered to supply them till they could be otherways provided: the cham all the while entertaining the prince, and all his officers. with fo much feeming friendly familiarity, that they thought themselves extremely happy. When the prince proposed cantoning the men among the Tartars, all his officers to a man protested against it, alledging, the Tartars ought not to be trusted; for so long as they kept themselves together in a body, they had nothing to fear from the Tartars, not-

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themselves, they would run the risque of being every one massacred.

The Tartar cham observing that they were not inclined to trust him, said to the prince and his officers, that they had no reason to mistrust his kindness, as it entirely proceeded from his regard to the czar, their master, whom he knew to be engaged in great wars in Europe, which couldnot be carried on without gold; and for that reason, he freely gave them liberty to take as much of it as they pleased; for his own part, he neither valued gold nor filver, as it was of no use in their country, for they lived without that, or even bread, confequently had no use for either; their whole riches confifting in herds of cattle, which, with their tents, they could remove at pleasure; and, consequently, could not fear having either castles, towns, or villages, risled or taken from them; for they lived here one day, and elsewhere the next. As to his offer to quarter their men amongst his people, it was made with a kind intention, and to provide for them till the arrival of their own stores from their ships, which could not be long, as he had fent a party of his men with camels to haften them forward.

The general, at length, by these infinuations, against the advice of all his officers, was prevailed upon to quarter his army amongst the Tartars; while this was doing, the cham was entertaining the prince, and his principal officers, in his own tent, till late in the night, when, in the height of their merriment, a Tartar entered and told the cham, his orders were executed; on which the cham put on a stern countenance, ordered all the officers to be disarmed

and bound, which was instantly done; he then told the BOOK v. prince that all his troops were massacred, and that since he had prefumed to enter into his territories, and taken possesfion without his leave, he, and his officers were to be put to death: the officers were that instant dispatched before his face, and prince Beckewitz was ordered to kneel down on a piece of red cloth, spread on the ground for that purpose, to meet his fate; but the prince began to upbraid the cham with his treachery, and affured him, that the czar would refent it in the most ample manner; he was immediately cut on the legs with their scymetars till he fell, and then they inhumanly cut him in pieces. At the fame time, the party that had been fent to the fort for provisions, furprised and massacred the whole garrison that was left there. and then destroyed the fort and burnt the ships, leaving not the least appearance that any thing of that kind had ever been there.

This difafter occasioned various conjecture and speculation all over Russia, as not the least accounts had been received either of the men or ships, till at last it was concluded they must have all perished in the Caspian sea. The whole of this affair was discovered to the czar by an officer, a German by birth. who had been taken prisoner at the battle of Pultowa, in the Swedish service, and went on this expedition as a captain and aid-de-camp to the general, and was an eye-witness to the whole transaction, from first to last; he was preserved in the general massacre by his host, in order to sell him; but as he had not been used to hard work, he was often sold from one master to another, till at last he fell into the hands of an Armenian merchant, who had a correspondence with other Armenians

BOOK v. at Aftrachan: he discovered himself to this merchant, who, on having fecurity for the money he cost, gave him his li-1717. berty; by which means we got this information, otherwise it might have remained a fecret for ever.

> Prince Alexander Beckewitz was the only fon of prince Archilla, of Iveria and Mongrelia, who fell in difgrace with the Persian sovereign for refusing to resign his wife to him (mother to this prince), a most beautiful woman; this obliged the prince to fly his country, and put himself under the protection of the czar. He dying foon after, left his only fon, prince Alexander, all the immense treasure he had brought with him. This prince married a princess of the house of Galitzin, the greatest beauty in all Russia; this lady, intending to go to her husband, was unfortunately drowned in the Wolga, on her way to Astrachan,

A new regulation at Peterfourgh, nufactory at Moscow.

The czar, finding the abuses in the management of his revenue arose chiefly from the confused method of his courts, and a filk ma- he now modelled them on a new plan, formed on his own observations at Paris. The first was the senate; the second for foreign affairs; the third for finance; the fourth for justice; the fifth for revision; the fixth for war; the feventh for marine; the eighth for commerce; the ninth for receipts and expenditure; and the tenth for arts, sciences, mines, buildings, &c. At the same time, he erected a filk manufactory at Moscow, having engaged a number of filkweavers at Paris, and being sufficiently supplied with raw filk from the province of Gilan, on the fouth coast of the Caspian sea, which is esteemed the best in Persia, and is brought across that sea to Astrachan, from thence up the rivers Wolga and Ocka to Moscow.

BOOK

## BOOK VI.

Return of the czarowitz to Moscow, and his exclusion from the succession.— His accomplices.—The princess Mary concerned in it.—The trial of the czarowitz at Petersburgh. - His death and character. - The Swedish fieldmarshal Rheinshield's return home. - Negotiation at Aland, for peace with Sweden, renewed.—King of Sweden's death.—The death of baron Gortz.—The fifeal's information against the grandees for misdemeanours, and their trial.—Prince Gagaren's unaccountable behaviour.—More of the czarowitz's confederates. - Death of prince Peter Petrówitz - Prince Peter Alexoroitz made a ferjeant, taught his exercife, and made enfign. -Negotiations for peace renewed, but fruitless.—The czar resolves to command it. - Memorable defeent on Sweden. - The British fleet came too late -The czar difgusted with Britain .- The Jesuits banished. - The czar feized with a fit at Revel.—General Weyde's illness, and the czar's concern for him. - Affairs of Sweden. - Marshal Weyde's death. - Ill treatment of his family.—His funeral.—The czar reproves Menzikof.— Captain Bruce's ineffectual attempt to quit the Russian service. - The new king of Sweden notifies his accession.—A second invasion.—The Swedes attack our fleet with loss. - the czar receives the auke of Holstein into bis protection: - ourt martial on heutenant colonel Graves. - A curious law-fuit between two brothers at Revel. - Fresh preparations against Sweden—Proposals on their part for a cellution of hostilities, rejected .-A third descent on Sweden, which obliged them to sign the preliminaries, and conclude the peace. - The fleet and army in a storm, and a child remarkably preserved. - The fleet arrive at Petersburgh. - The czar honoured by his fenate with the title of Peter the Great, &c .- A wife reformation in the business of the law.—The captain again refused leave to quit .- Triumphal entry into Moscow. - A proclamation and outh regarding the succession.

IS majesty set out for Moscow on the 3d of Fe-BOOK VI.
bruary, having received intelligence that count Tolfloi was on his way thither from Naples, with the czarowitz; Return of the where they arrived the 11th. A grand council was held at czarowitz to Moscow,

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Moscow.

and his exclusion from the fucceffion.

BOOK VI. Moscow on this occasion, consisting of the great men of the empire; the czar being determined to exert, in a most folemn manner, his justice on the prince for his disobedi-The council being met, the czarowitz was brought ence. into the hall as a prisoner before them: at his entering he presented a writing to his majesty, containing a confession of his crime. The czar demanded of him what was his defire: the prince implored his mercy and begged he would fave his life; his majesty granted his request, on condition he made a full discovery of all his accomplices, and renounce all his claim and title to the fuccession, under his hand; upon this the prince figued an instrument setting forth that, finding himself not qualified for government, he disclaimed all right of succession to the crown; and afterwards confirmed it upon oath, acknowleging his brother Peter, lawful heir to the crown. This being done, all the ministers and great men present, took the oaths, excluding prince Alexis from the crown, and acknowleging prince Peter to be the undoubted fucceffor to it, engaging to stand by him with their lives, against all that should dare oppose him; and that they never would, under any pretence whatever, adhere to prince Alexis, or assist him in the recovery of the said succession. The same oath was afterwards administered to the army and navy at home and abroad, and to every subject of the Russian empire. Nevertheless the prince was still kept under confinement, and nobody admitted to him, except count Tolstoi, and fuch others as were appointed by the czar.

His accomplices.

This being over, the prince's accomplices were fecured; in which number were his mother, formerly czarina, now abbess of the monastery of Susdale, and her gallant, the boyar Glebof.

Glebof, who not only had lived a lewd life with the mother, BOOK VI. but was a principal agent in the conspiracy, between her and her fon, the czarowitz; the letters they had written to each other were published, and were both treasonable and fcandalous. Next the boyar Abraham Lupochin, brother to the late czarina, and uncle to the prince; Alexander Kikin, first commissioner of the admiralty, formerly a very great favourite with the czar; the bilhop of Rostof, and Pustinoi the late czarina's confessor and treasurer, were all tried and fentenced. Glebof was impaled alive, and the other four were broke alive on the wheel. A high square wall was built before the Castle gate for that purpose: the impaled corpfe of Glebof was placed in the middle, and the heads of the other four, were each on a long pole, fet up at the corners. Several others suffered death at the same time, among whom fifty priests and monks, late companions to the czarowitz, who had led him into all manner of debauchery, were all beheaded on one block, which was a tree provided for the purpose of holding them all at once.

In this conspiracy, the princess Mary, half-sister to the The princess czar, was also concerned; she was afterwards confined in a Mary concerned in it, monastery near to lake Ladoga; and the late czarina Ottakefa Lupochin, was confined in the fortress of Slutelburgh, upon an island in that lake. All the czarowitz's domestics, and his mistress Euphrosina, were taken up; as was also prince Wasilia Dolgoruky, lieutenant-general and colonek of the guards, knight of the order of the elephant, and director-general for enquiring into the milmanagements of the czar's revenues; in which post he had behaved with the utmost insolence to prince Menzikof, admiral Apraxin,

and !

BOOK VI. and several others. He was banished to Casan for life: the Siberian czarowitz, and the fenators Woinof, Worof, and John Kikin, brother to Alexander Kikin, were also banished; but the fenators count Peter Apraxin, brother to the admiral, and count Samarin were acquitted. One of the czar's pages and feveral nuns fuffered fevere corporal punishment, and were, with most of the czarowitz's domestics, fent into banishment; but Euphrosina making it appear that it was by her perfuasion the prince returned, and that after her first lying in, having conformed with the Russian faith, she was actually married to the prince, when they were on their journey, by a Grecian priest, who was seized at Leipzig and brought prisoner to Moscow; she was not only set at liberty, but had feveral of the czarowitz's jewels restored to her, and a handsome fortune appointed for her support, out of the treasury. She could never be prevailed upon to marry: she was but of mean extraction and a captive of Finland:

> When this grand inquisition at Moscow was finished, his majefly fet out from thence, and arrived at Petersburgh the 4th of April, and the czarowitz, arriving two days after, was confined in the fortress. The czar was no sooner come to Petersburgh than he went to the dock, and ordered the men of war that were ready, to be launched, and to get his fleet equipped with all expedition, to endeavour to prevent Britain and Holland from compelling the king of Sweden to a separate peace with the former.

About the latter end of May the first conference was held at Aland, whither it was transferred from Abo at the defire of baron Gortz, as it was much nearer Stockholm, and therefore more convenient for the dispatch of business.

pleni-

plenipotentiaries from the czar, at this congress, were count BOOK VI. Bruce, grand-master of the ordnance, and baron Osterman, a privy-counfellor; and from the king of Sweden, baron Gortz and count Gullenburg. None of the foreign ministers were admitted to these conferences but baron Mardefelt. envoy from the king of Prussia.

1718.

From the numerous executions and punishments after The czaro. the inquisition at Moscow, every body believed that business witz's trial at

at an end; but from the fresh discoveries made every day, it appeared, the prince had not been genuine in his confession of all his confederates in the conspiracy; and the accomplices appearing fo numerous, and the plot fo deep laid, the czar found it abfolutely necessary to bring the prince to a formal trial. For this purpose he summoned all the nobility and clergy, the principal officers of the army and navy, the governors of provinces, and many others of different ranks and degrees, to attend at the fenate-house, to examine and try the faid prince. The trial was begun the 25th of June (the particulars of which have been fo fully related by others, that I thought a repetition of it needlefs), and continued to the 6th of July, when this supreme court, with unanimous confent, passed sentence of death upon the prince, but left the manner of it to his majesty's determination: the prince was brought before the court, his fentence

On the next day, his majefty, attended by all the senators His death and bishops, with several others of high rank, went to the and characfort, and entered the apartments where the czarowitz was kept prisoner. Some little time thereafter marshal Weyde

was read to him, and he was re-conveyed to his prison in

the fortress.

BOOK VI. came out, and ordered me to go to Mr. Bear's the druggist. whose shop was hard by, and tell him to make the potion flrong which he had befpoke, as the prince was then very ill: when I delivered this message to Mr. Bear, he turned quite pale, and fell a shaking and trembling, and appeared in the utmost confusion, which surprised me so much, that I asked him what was the matter with him, but he was unable to return me any answer; in the mean time the marshal himself came in, much in the same condition with the druggist, saying, he ought to have been more expeditious, as the prince was very ill of an apoplectic fit; upon this the druggist delivered him a filver cup with a cover, which the marshal himself carried into the prince's apartments, staggering all the way as he went, like one drunk. half an hour after, the czar with all his attendants withdrew with very difmal countenances, and when they went, the marshal ordered me to attend at the prince's apartment, and in case of any alteration, to inform him immediately thereof: there were at that time two physicians and two furgeons in waiting, with whom, and the officer on guard, I dined on what had been dreffed for the prince's dinner. The physicians were called in immediately after to attend the prince, who was struggling out of one convulsion into another, and, after great agonies, expired at five o'clock in the afternoon. I went directly to inform the marshal, and he went that moment to acquaint his majesty, who ordered the corpse to be imbowelled; after which it was laid in a coffin, covered with black velvet, and a pall of rich gold tiffue spread over it; it was then carried out of the fort, to the church of the Holy Trinity, where the corpfe lay in ftate

state till the 11th in the evening, when it was carried back BOOK VI. to the fort, and deposited in the royal burying-vault, next the coffin of the princess his late consort; on which occafion, the czar and czarina, and the chief of the nobility, followed in procession. Various were the reports that were fpread concerning his death: it was given out publicly, that on hearing his fentence of death pronounced, the dread thereof threw him into an apoplectic fit, of which he died; very few believed he died a natural death, but it was dangerous for people to fpeak as they thought. The ministers of the emperor, and the states of Holland, were forbid the court for speaking their minds too freely on this occasion, and upon complaint against them were both recalled.

Thus died prince Alexis, undoubted heir to that great monarchy; little regretted by people of rank, as he always shunned their acquaintance and company. It was faid, the czar had taken uncommon pains in the education of this prince, but all in vain; indolent and flovenly by nature, he kept the lowest of company, with whom he indulged himself in all manner of vice and debauchery. His father, to put a ftop to this, fent him abroad to fee foreign courts, thinking thereby to reclaim him, but all to no purpose; on which he ordered him to attend him in all his expeditions, thereby to have a watchful eye over him himself; but the prince evaded this, by continually pretending to be fick, which might probably be the case, as he was most part of his time drunk: The czar, at last, thought to reclaim him by marrying him to some foreign princess; what effect that had has been already mentioned. After the death of his amiable princess, his majesty ordered him to attend him in his expedition to

Ger-

BOOK VI. Germany; and being on his journey, under pretence of go---- ing to join him in Mecklenburg, he fled privately, and fought the protection of his brother-in-law, the emperor of Germany, whom he endeavoured to engage in a war against his father.

> It was made appear on his trial, that he threatened whenever he came to the throne, to overturn all his father had done, declaring, that he then would be revenged on prince Menzikof, and his fifter-in-law, by impaling them alive, asalso the great chancellor count Goloskin, and his son, for perfuading him to marry the princess Wolfenbuttel; that he would fend all his father's favourites into banishment, and expel all foreigners out of the country; that he would release his mother out of confinement, and put dame Catherine, and her children, in her place; after this, he would form his court of people who had the ancient manners and customs of Russia most at heart, for he hated all innovations. Nothing could have touched the czar more fenfibly than threatening to overthrow all he had been doing for fo many years for the welfare and glory of his country, with fo much danger, toil, and labour, without ever sparing his own person; which made him say, with great emotion, that he would rather give his dominions to a worthy stranger, than be succeeded by so worthless a son: at the time of this expression, he had no other fon but the czarowitz, which shewed plainly, he had the good of his country more at heart than the fuccession in his own family.

The Swedish field-marshal Reinshield's return home.

Count Reinshield, the Swedish field-marshal, who had been a prisoner at Casan since the battle of Pultowa, arrived at Petersburgh with twenty officers, to be exchanged for the two Russian generals, knez Trubetzkoi and count Gollowin, BOOK VI. who had both been prisoners at Stockholm since the battle. of Narva. Count Reinshield was very graciously received by the czar, who recommended him to the particular care of field-marshal Weyde; he was daily invited by one grandee or other, where the czar always made one of the party; and on these occasion's conversed very familiarly with the count, telling him, one day, that he defired nothing fo much as to be perfonally acquainted with his brother king Charles, which he hoped would foon happen by concluding a lafting peace to both their fatisfactions; and that he hoped to have a personal interview with him, where matters might be concerted between themselves without many witnesses. Count Reinshield being detained much longer than he expected, was afraid that the king, his master, would not consent to the exchange, which made him fo uneasy, that he complained thereof to our marshal; who assured him, that if the king of Sweden should refuse the exchange, he should not be detained, for the czar would let him go on his parole; but, in a few days after, I was fent at midnight with the agreeable news that he was to fail in the morning for Stockholm, as a yacht lay ready to take him and his officers on board. When I came the marshal was asleep, but I communicated the good news to his officers, who received it with fo much joy, that, by their noise, they awaked the count; and, on his enquiring what the matter was, I stepped up to his bedfide and delivered my message, which so agreeably surprised him, that he got up and embraced me, faying, If ever I went to Sweden he would make me a fuitable return for the: good news I brought him, as he had nothing then to reward!

1718.

day-light, and then went on board the yacht with him.

About eleven o'clock the czar, attended by marshal Weyde, came on board to take his leave of the count, and presented him with a sword from his own side, which was enriched with diamonds, wishing him a good voyage to Stockholm.

Negotiation at Aland for peace with Sweden renewed.

Baron Gortz being returned from the king of Sweden with his final resolution, the conference at Aland, between our ministers and those of Sweden, were continued. The czar fet out from Cronflot with his fleet, in the month of August, for Revel, and from thence he went to Abo to be near the place of conference; where it was agreed, that the czar should give up Finland, and part of Carelia, to the king of Sweden; and he should have in lieu thereof Wyburgh, part of Carelia, all Ingria, Esthonia, and Livonia; and the czar was besides to assist the Swedes to recover Swedish Pomerania. and Bremen and Verden; and to reinstate the duke of Holftein in his dukedom, as also to persuade the duke of Mecklenburgh to refign his dukedom to Sweden for ever; for which he was to have an equivalent elfewhere (supposed to be Courland); and to replace Stanislaus on the throne of Poland, according to the agreement made with king Augustus at Alt Ransfadt; and if Great Britain interfered in retaking Bremen and Verden, that they would, with their joint fleets and forces, make a descent on Britain with the pretender, and place him on the throne.

Upon this, it was agreed, that baron Gortz should once more return to the king of Sweden with these proposals: for which purpose he set off the end of September, in full expectation of prevailing with the king to come into them.

In the mean time, nothing was done to disturb the king of BOOK VI. Sweden in his expedition against Norway, as the czar returned with his fleet to Cronflot, and arrived at Petersburgh the 15th of September, where he found the czarina delivered of a princess, whom he named Natalia. His majesty ordered the fleet to be laid up at Cronflot, fo that every body confidered the peace with Sweden at no great distance: these hopes, however, were foon blafted by the death of the king King of Sweof Sweden, which happened in the night between the 20th den's death. and 30th of November, being shot through the head before Frederickshal in Norway, and it was generally believed to have been done by one of his own people. Field marshal Reinshield being then in the trenches, and going to wait on the king, found him kneeling on the banquet, with his head on the parapet inclining to one fide; the marshal thinking he was afleep, endeavoured to waken him, but found him cold and dead.

Baron Gortz was arrested in his way to Frederickshal to The death of wait on the king, and foon after beheaded, and his corpfe buried under the gallows; feveral perfons in the confidence of Gortz, were arrested, and an officer was dispatched to Aland to feize on fecretary Stamble and all his papers, by whom we were apprifed of the king of Sweden's death, and that his fifter, the princess Ulrica, had been proclaimed queen. Secretary Stamble went to Petersburgh, where he remained under the czar's protection, and afterwards engaged himself in the Russian service. This sudden change overturned all advances towards peace, which then, to all appearance, only waited for figning.

The-

BOOK VI.

The fical's information a, sinft the grandees for mifdemean-

The fileal-general, on the czar's return, gave information - against several great men in the administration, for oppressing the fubjects and defrauding his majesty of considerable fums of money. The czar directly established a tribunal to enquire into those matters; and appointed marshal Weyde ors, and their prefident of this court, faying, he was the only man he had never found faulty in any one thing, and joined with him as affistants, the lieutenant-generals Butterlin and Slippenbach, major-generals Galitzen and Jagufinsky, and the brigadier generals Wolkof and Mamonof. This tribunal was to examine into the misinanagement of such persons as the fiscal-general should lay before them, and to pronounce sentence on those who should be found guilty, as the nature of their crime deserved, without respect of persons. first that was cited before this court was prince Menzikoff, who pleaded guilty to the charge laid against him, and having submitted to the sentence of the court, delivered up his fword, and went to his own house to remain in confinement till his majesty's pleasure was known; the next were the great admiral Apraxin, and his brother, a fenator and governor of Astracan, and director-general of the salt-works: being all three found guilty, they received fentence to be difmissed from their employments, and their estates to be confiscated to his majesty's use, and themselves to be sent into banishment: they were accordingly degraded, and their trials published in print. Prince Dolgoruky, paymaster-general, was next called upon, but he pleaded his own cause so well, that he was acquitted. Several others were tried and found guilty, and when every body expected their fentence would have been put in execution, the czar, in remembrance of their

their former merits and faithful fervices, restored them again BOOK VI to his favour, after their paying great fums into the treasury.

Prince Gagarin, governor of Siberia, was next impeached Prince Gagaby the fiscal-general, on a charge for having, by parties of rin's unac-Tartars, he kept for that purpose, way-laid and robbed his haviour. majesty's caravan coming from China, whereby several men of the detachment fent by the said prince to protect that caravan, had been killed, fo that the crime was not only for plundering his majesty's caravan, but of destroying the lives of so many of his innocent subjects; by which unlawful and wicked means, he had accumulated immense riches. The proofs against him were so clear, that the court fent him prisoner to the fortress till his majesty's farther pleasure should be known: upon his commitment, the czar himself went to the fort, and examining, told him if he would make a fair confession to him how far he was guilty of the crimes laid to his charge, upon the faith of his royal word, he would pardon him; upon this, the prince freely confessed his being guilty of the whole charge laid against him, and figned this confession in writing. The fenate was ordered to meet next day; prince Gagarin's confession was produced, and read before the senate; and then his majesty told them, that he had fully pardoned the prince on his making the faid confession; and that he had convened them on purpose to shew them that he inclined more to lenity than feverity, by which he hoped to reform those who had been hitherto remiss in their duty. Prince Gargarin being then brought from the fort into the fenate, his confeffion in writing, and figned by himfelf, was publicly read before him; and being asked if he now acknow-

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ledged

nocent of the crime laid to his charge; but the czar had frightened him so much, that he forced him to write and fign that confession against his will. This declaration confounded the czar so much, that he remained some time silent, and the whole senators looked amazed: at last the czar said, that although the prince laid so notorious a falshood to his charge, and presumed so much on his own innocence, he should nevertheless have fair play for his life; and then ordered the witnesses against him to be produced: at the head of whom appeared his own secretary, who proved undeniable facts against him. The prince, not knowing till then that his secretary was an informer against him, was so much

This unaccountable behaviour in prince Gagarin, after being fully pardoned, greatly surprised every body; some thought him mad, others that he was ashamed to confess to the whole world so publicly, that he had been guilty of such atrocious crimes, who had always passed for a pious and godly man. He was charitable to a great degree, and the prisoners in Siberia lost a very good friend in him; especially the Swedish officers, who could not enough extol his liberality to them. On his arrival at Petersburgh, he was very profuse with his presents, especially to the czarina, to whom he gave some not only curious, but valuable; and it was owing to that lady's powerful intercession, that he was pardoned at all: but after such bare-faced insult to majesty itself, in full senate, no body durst presume to say one word in his behalf. The czar being exasperated to the

confounded, that he fell down on his knees, and faid, he

had been a hardened finner, and deferved no mercy.

1713,

highest degree against prince Gagarin, ordered a gallows, BOOK VI. in imitation of Haman's, fifty cubits high, to be crected before the fenate house, on which he was hanged in prefence of all the fenators, to most of whom he was either related or allied. His fentence was to hang till he dropt in pieces from the gallows; but to entice fomebody to cut him down fooner, the prince put two bags with money, in each fide pocket of his breeches: this was prevented by placing a ffrong guard every night, to watch the corpse, so that he actually hung till the money, with part of his limbs, fell down: the money was shared among the soldiers, and the gallows, with the remainder of the corpse, was at last removed.

At this time there were feveral more of the late czarowitz's More of the domestics, put to death; as Pustinoi, his confessor; Assona-czarowitz's confederates. fief, his mafter of the horse; Woinof, his steward of the houshold; Dubrofsky, a gentleman of his bedchamber, and four others of his fervants: the first four were beheaded. and afterwards twifted on wheels; the rest were knouted.

1719.

On the 15th of January, 1719, Mr. Jefferies, the British refident at the court of Sweden, arrived at Petersburgh from Stockholm; but instead of bringing any proposals of accommodation, as was expected, he faid he came to demand those of the Russian court. In the beginning of February, baron Ofterman was fent from Aland to Petersburgh, for fresh instructions, and the conferences went on in the mean time, between the counts Bruce and Gullenburgh; but in the month of April, baron Osterman was sent to Sweden, to declare, that unless they accepted in two months time, of the conditions formerly agreed on; they must expect a visit from forty thou-

fand

BOOK VI. fand plenipotentiaries, who would force them to it, fword in - hand.

1719. Death of prince Peter Petrowitz.

Prince Peter Petrowitz, his majesty's only surviving son, died on the 6th of May, in the fourth year of his age, to the great grief of his father: his corpfe lay fome time in state, and was carried, with great funeral pomp, to the church in the fortrefs, where it was deposited in the royal burying vault.

Prince Peter Alexowitz made ferjeant, taught his exercise, and made enfign.

After this, the great-duke, Peter Alexowitz, fon of the late czarowitz, grandfon to his majesty, was taken from under the care of his governess (who had educated his mother), and was made a ferjeant in the guards, and mafters were appointed to instruct him in all manner of sciences. I was ordered to attend him two hours in every day, to teach him the military exercise, gunnery, and fortification: a corporal with twenty-four men and a drum, mounted as his daily guard; the duke exercifed those men every morning himself, with his halbert in his hand, and took great delight in it; after the excercife, he always fired three brass cannon, of one pound shot, which were placed before his door for his diversion. The czar came frequently to see him perform his exercises, and was vastly pleased with his fprightliness and attention; and seeing some draughts and models of fortification laying on the table, he asked the young prince the use and advantage of each particular work, to which he gave his answers so readily, and with so much judgement, considering his years, that his grandfather was fo well pleafed, that he embraced him most heartily, and made him a present of his picture richly set with diamonds, and gave him an enfign's commission in the first regiment of 4

guards: and finding he had a genius far above his age, he BOOK VI. ordered feveral artists, as ship builders, architects, &c. to wait upon him, and shew him their draughts, and explain them to him. It was very remarkable that he would not amuse himself with any kind of children's play, for when his fifter, the great-duchefs, proposed to amuse him with play, he told her that it became one of her fex better than him, for he ought to employ his time in improving himfelf as became a prince. This fort of behaviour made him be admired by every body, and filled their minds with great expectations from him, as he was then the apparent heir to the crown of Ruffia.

1719.

The queen of Sweden at last named baron Liliensted, to Negotiations fupply the place of the late baron Gortz, at the congress of for peace renewed, but Aland; where he arrived in the month of June: but the death fruitless. of the king of Sweden, whose ambition had given great umbrage to all his neighbours, had now wholly changed the dispositions of the princes of Europe towards that kingdom. The king of Great Britain fent lord Carteret, his ambaffador, to Sweden, to conclude a treaty and an alliance with that crown; by which it was agreed that Bremen and Verden should remain with the king of Great Britain, for a million of crowns, and in case the war with Russia continued, Great Britain should pay Sweden three hundred thousand. crowns a year, and act with her forces against the czar. A short time after this the Swedes made peace with the king of Prussia, on terms somewhat similar, for ceding to his majesty Stetin, and its districts; and at the same time the king. of Poland had concluded a treaty with the emperor and his Britannic majesty.

BOOK VI.

mand it.

Memorable descent on Sweden.

The czar, now finding himself forsaken by all his allies, - was refolved to make a descent on Sweden, thereby to force The czar re- them to a peace, ordered all his gallies and ships of war to folves to com- be got ready, and embarked on board his fleet 40,000 men, under the command of Apraxin, his great admiral; with orders to waste and destroy the coasts of Sweden. The admiral held a council of war at the in and of Capel, and shaped his course for the Dalder Isles, where he took several prifoners of note; he then went and ruine the chief coppermines, and burnt the woods, and feveral noblemen's houses thereabouts: from thence he went to South Telle, where he landed fifty coffacks on horseback, who advanced within a league of Stockholm, defeated an out-guard, and brought off a major and eight men prisoners. The 19th of July, the fleet arrived at Landfort, having taken on their paffage two ships laden with corn, bound to Stockholm; the gallies, in the mean while, were divided into three fquadrons, one landed between north and fouth Talle, another on the coast of Geesle, and the third at Nikoping; several detachments of dragoons and Cossacks were landed at Sandmar, who burnt and destroyed all the country near to Stockholm. Our fleet, at the fame time, arrived at the mouth of the river of Stockholm, where they took five barks laden with provisions; from thence they proceeded to the northward, where a number of towns and villages were destroyed, especially those near which the most considerable iron-mines of the kingdom lay; the destruction of which was an irreparable lofs to Sweden. In fhort, the landing the Ruffian troops in fo many different places of that kingdom, made it impossible for the Swedish army to prevent it: no sooner had

had they destroyed one place of the country, than they im- BOOK VI. mediately removed to another. According to the report of the damages fustained by these descents on the coasts of Sweden, they confifted in the destruction of eight towns, eleven palaces, one hundred and thirty noblemen and gentlemen's houses, one thousand three hundred and fixty-one villages, forty-three mills, twenty-fix magazines, two coppermines, fourteen iron-mines, besides all their corn and cattle; and all the inhabitants they met with, old and young, of both fexes, were taken and carried off in transports over to Finland, to the amount of fixty thousand and upwards, where they were detained till the conclusion of the peace. The Swedes, relying too much on the promifed fuccours from their allies, would not come into the measures that had been agreed on between the czar and their late fovereign: the czar, therefore, now infifted on keeping all Carelia and Kecksholm, over and above what he formerly demanded of Sweden: but these propositions were rejected with scorn. the congress of Aland broke up, and the ministers retired.

The English fleet, under admiral Norris, came before The British Stockholm the 21st of August, eight days after our fleet late. were retired into their different harbours. Soon after Mr. Berkeley arrived at Aland, with letters from lord Carteret and admiral fir John Norris, for his majesty, defiring a pass from count Bruce to Petersburgh; but the count being informed of the contents, refused to fend the letters to the czar, nor would he give Mr. Berkeley a passport to Petersburg, but fent him back with an answer to lord Carteret. wherein he told him, that he found the contents of the letters they had fent to his majesty so singular, and so little

BOOK VI. confistent with the ties of alliance and friendship, that still fubfished between his czarish majesty and his Britannic majesty, that he could not prevail on himself to do what was defired of him, until he first received orders from the czar, his mafter; besides, he was persuaded, his Britannic majesty would not fail to acquaint the czar with his thoughts or pretensions on a matter of so great importance, either by letter to himself, or by his minister at Peterburgh; and therefore there was no occasion to use such extraordinary ways and means. Upon this answer, the sieurs Jesferies and disousted with Weber, the British and Hanoverian ministers, received orders to leave the court of Petersburgh, as did all British subjects to quit the Russian service; on which the czar caused all the English merchants in his dominions to be put under arrest, threatening, if the British nation made war upon him, he would confiscate all their effects, which amounted to above fifty millions of rubles.

The lefuits banished.

The czar

Britain.

At this time the Jesuits, those pests of society, who had got footing in Russia, through the recommendation of the emperor, were now banished for intermedling too much with state-affairs, and ordered to quit the Russian dominions within four days after having notice given them; as the world was fufficiently apprifed of their dangerous machinations, in troubling the political affairs of every country they are received into. The padres were now in great hurry and confusion, being obliged to fet out immediately, leaving their rich chapel to the Capuchins, who were the only order of the Romish profession that were suffered to remain in Russia; and they were tolerated for the sake of the Roman Catholics, who were numerous in the Ruffian army.

It came out on the late trial of prince Menzikof, that Mr. BOOK vi. Wefalofsky, his late fecretary, had been principally concerned with the two Solowiofs, the prince's agents, in carrying on an illicit trade to the great detriment of the nation: the two Solowiofs suffered for their crime, and as Wesalossky was then envoy at the British court, he had orders to return home, and Mr. Bestuzof was appointed to succeed him at that court: but as Wefalofski dreaded, not without reason. to be brought to an account for malpractices, thought proper, instead of returning, to write a letter to the emperor. in which he acknowledged his guilt, and that, to avoid his majesty's just refentment, he had changed his name, and was resolved to return no more to Russia, but to spend the remainder of his days in some remote and free part of the globe where he should never be heard of more. It was, however, generally believed, that he married and fettled in England, and was afterwards naturalized there. tuzof had not long succeeded him, before he disobliged the court of London by a memorial, wherein he reflected on the ministry, for which he was ordered to depart the kingdom.

When his majesty went to survey the fortifications of Re- The czar vel, in the month of September, I had orders to attend him: feized with a fit at Revel. he proposed to make that one of the strongest places in Europe, and also for the equipment of his fleet. One day when he was furveying the fortifications, and giving orders about the additional works he thought necessary to be made. he was feized with a violent fit of the colic, which threatened his life, but the vigour of his constitution got the better of it. He soon after returned to Petersburgh, where he made

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great

BOOK VI. great preparations for the ensuing campaign: by his orders I remained fix weeks after he was gone, to draw the plans. and give the necessary directions for erecting the out-works. Notwithstanding the perpetual hurry of business his majesty was continually employed in, he did not neglect to folace himself every evening, when the fatigues of the day were over, with fome diversion or other, especially assemblies. which were held every evening at the houses of people of rank, who held them by turns, at which meetings he converfed very familiarly with all ranks and degrees of people, which made those assemblies very much frequented.

General

At my return to Petersburgh marshal Weyde was just arness, and the rived from Olonitz, where he had been drinking the mineral czar's conern for him. waters for his health, which, instead of being of service, had made him a great deal worse. His majesty interested himself so much in the marshal's recovery, that he went in person every day to see him, and gave strict charge to the physicians never to leave him, but to use their utmost skill for his prefervation; declaring, that if he died, he should lose the best general and the most faithful servant he had in his whole empire; and now by much care and attention, the general recovered his health pretty well again.

> The czar had made marshal Weyde a present some years ago of an estate in Livonia, of the value of twelve thousand rubles a year, by charter to him and his heirs whatfoever: he had only two daughters, the eldest was married to majorgeneral Le Fort, nephew to the grand Le Fort, the czar's peculiar favourite; and she, dying soon after, left only one The youngest, and then only daughter, being daughter. asked in marriage by Mr. Weber, the Hanoverian minister,

was refused, on account of his belonging to a foreign court; BOOK VI. besides, his majesty did not approve of the match. Then Mr. Romanzof, adjutant-general to the czar, made his addresses, but that was not agreeable to the lady herfelf, as he was a Russian and of a different religion. The marshal, apprehending the czar would infift on that marriage, betrothed her, against her inclination, to lieutenant-general Bohn, a man she could neither love nor esteem, being of an age more like a father than a husband; the grief thereof threw the young lady into a lingering indisposition.

The czar being now informed, that the queen of Swe- Affairs of den had refigned the crown to her confort, the hereditary Sweden. prince of Hesse Cassel, and that the regent of France had paid Sweden fix hundred thousand crowns of arrears, with affurance, that the subsidies should be regularly paid in future; besides one million of crowns they got from Britain for Bremen and Verden, and the stipulated subsidy of three hundred thousand, while the war lasted with Russia; all this made the Swedes take fresh courage, and they gave the czar to understand he was not to expect peace, unless he gave up all the provinces he had conquered from them fince the commencement of the war. On the other hand, the czar finding his enemy thus largely supplied with money, supported by an English fleet, favoured by the kings of Prussia and Denmark, and on the point of concluding a peace with Poland, while he himself was deserted by every ally, sent a numerous army into Finland, and endeavoured to make himself master of the Bothnick gulf by a large fleet.

Early in the spring 1720, admiral Norris arrived in the Sound with a British squadron; and failing from thence, he

1720.

March, the palatine of Massovia arrived at Petersburgh as ambassador from Poland, inviting the czar to enter into a peace with Sweden, jointly with Poland; but the czar had already formed his resolutions to force Sweden to a separate peace, and to convince the world, notwithstanding the powerful assistance afforded his enemy, while he stood by himself alone, he had it still in his power to command his own terms with the Swedes.

Marshal Weyde's death.

Marshal Weyde now lost his only daughter, who died the day she was to have been married to general Bohn, of a broken heart, at being obliged to marry fo much against her inclination: her affections had been engaged to Mr. Weber, the Hanoverian minister. Her father took the loss of his only child fo much to heart, that he fickened again, and died the 4th of June, very much regretted by both their majesties, and by all ranks of people; but more especially by the army, who adored him, notwithstanding his strict discipline, for he had the art of making them obeyhis orders with pleasure, by his affability in checking those in private who transgressed against his orders: so that courtmartials and punishments were rare during his command. of the army. Notwithstanding this lenity, the Russian army was never under better discipline, or in finer order. The marshal was born at Moscow, of German parents; had made several campaigns in his youth in Hungary, under prince Eugene, and was employed by him as one of his. aid de camps, under whom he always confessed to have learned the military art. He was made a prisoner of war in the year 1700, at Narva, and detained at Stockholm till the: year 1710, when he was ransomed, and was appointed BOOK VI field-marshal, when count Zaremetof died after his march -3720. through Poland.

The marshal no sooner expired than lieutenant general Ill treatment Romantzof came to the house in his majesty's name, and of his family. fealed up every thing in the presence of general Le Fort and me, and then took an inventory of all the plate and furniture in the house, to the great surprize of the general. who was father to the marshal's grand daughter, the only undoubted heiress to his great fortune. Upon this general Le Fort defired to know, fince all the money, to the amount of fixty thousand ducats, was fealed up, how his father-inlaw was to be buried, as he had no cash to defray the charges. Romantzof then told him, that his majesty intended the marshal's corpse should have a splendid funeral, and that no cost should be spared, and then one of the chests was opened. and ten thousand rubles taken out, which were delivered to me, with orders to lay it out as I should be directed by general Le Fort, and when that was expended I might call for more; keeping an exact account of every thing that was laid out, which I was to deliver in with the proper rereceipts and vouchers, after the funeral ceremony was over.

This mal-treatment of Mr. Le Fort proceeded from a resentment in Romantzof, as he apprehended it was owing to Mr. Le Fort, that he did not succeed in his addresses to. the marshal's daughter; and to mortify him still more effectually, he begged and obtained the marshal's estate of the czar, who refused him nothing, as he was then a rising favorite; and to fatiate his revenge, lord Nereskin, a near relation of the czar's, being just arrived from his travels, and wanting.

BOOK VI. wanting a house, Mr. Romantzof advised him to purchase the late marshal's, with all the furniture and plate, which was done by appraisement, on an order from court; but no part of this estimated price was ever paid, and the heiress, then a child, had only the few jewels her grand-father left. and twelve thousand rubles for her portion: the remainder was generally believed to have been applied to Mr. Romantzof's own use. In this general plunder I suffered also; the marshal by his will, had left me two hundred ducats, his best suit of cloaths, and his best horse with the furniture: I received the money and cloaths, but the fine horse and furniture were brought to the czar's stable, and for which I was promifed three hundred ducats, but never got any thing. This was chiefly owing to Mrs. Le Fort, the general's fecond wife, to whom he was married in Germany: as she had been very severe on Mr. Romantzof's conduct, he resented it in part against me, as she was my near relation, although I was otherwise very much in his favour.

> As this was the first instance of foreigners being used in fo arbitrary and unjust a manner, it occasioned much speculation amongst all ranks of people, especially as it happened to a man of so great personal merit, and general esteem, besides to one who was nephew and heir to the grand Le Fort, and fon-in-law to marshal Weyde, both great favourites of the czar; fo that after this none could think themselves secure in their possessions. This unjust action gave me such an idea of Russia, that nothing after could induce me to fettle amongst them, notwithstanding all their proffered advancements and advantages.

The marshal's corpse being embowelled and embalmed, lay BOOK VI. in state twelve days, in a cossin under a canopy, dressed in a white embroidered suit of cloaths, in boots, with a full-bot- His funeral. tomed wig, and the order of faint Andrew about his neck, Several ladies and gentlemen watched the corpfe every night. which is the custom of the country. As there was nobody in the house belonging to the marshal, but his domestics. I superintended the whole. The last night being at supper with the company who were to watch, I took a fancy to frighten them, by removing the corpfe into another room, and laying myfelf down in its place; accordingly, when the company were entered the room, and feated some time, I began to stir under the cover that was laid over me, on which the company took to their heels, and ran out of the house, nor did they return to ask what was the matter, but spread a most dreadful report of the vision they had seen, Next morning crouds came to enquire into the wonder of that night, but went away no wifer than they came: the rereport reached the czar's ears, who ordered my attendance, and demanded of me what the affair was. Without the leaft hesitation, I told how it had happened, before the czarina and the two princesses, which diverted them very much, but her majesty thought proper to give me a very severe reprimand.

The 16th of June, being appointed for the interment, it was attended with great pomp, and the procession was conducted in the following manner.

- 1. A battalion of the guards, the officers in black scarfs, and the drums covered with black.
  - 2. A harbinger on horseback, in a mourning cloak.

3. A mar-

BOOK VI. 3. A marshal with a stalf, covered with black and white crape.

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- 4. A pair of kettle-drums, covered and carried by two men in black.
- 5. Four trumpets, four hautboys, and two bassoons, in pairs.
  - 6. A white standard, with the deceased's coat of arms.
- 7. A gentleman on horseback, in complete armour, with a fword in his hand.
  - 8. A black standard.
  - 9. A horse in mourning, led by two men in black.
  - 10. A master of the ceremonies.
- 11. A war-horse with complete furniture, led by two officers in their regimentals.
  - 12. A helmet.
  - 13. A cuirass.
  - 14. A pair of gilt spurs.
  - 15. A maishal's truncheon.
  - 16. A fword.
- 17. The order of faint Andrew; all these carried separately on velvet cushions, by officers.
- 18. Two officers with their fwords pointed to the ground, followed by twenty-four halbardiers, in pairs.
- 19. The corpfe of the marshal drawn by six horses, caparisoned with black cloth, each led by a groom in black, attended by three gentlemen on each side; the canopy was supported by eight lieutenant-colonels, and eight colonels held up the tassels of the canopy; the corners of the pall were supported by sour brigadiers.
  - 20. A marshal.

21. Miss Le Fort, grand-child to the deceased.

22. A colonel's lady (his niece.)

23. General Le Fort's lady; both these ladies led by two gentlemen each.

24. A great number of ladies in pairs.

- 25. His majesty, attended by all the grandees and foreign ministers.
  - 26. The officers of the army and navy.
  - 27. The protestant ministers, merchants, and burghers.
- 28. Another battalion of the guards; which closed the procession.

In this order, they went to the monastery of Alexander Newsky, at three miles distance; minute guns were fired from the fort, all the while till the corpse was interred, and was concluded by three vollies from the two battalions of guards. His majesty, with the rest of the company, returned to the house of the deceased, where a grand entertainment was prepared for them. Every one of the company was presented with a mourning ring, of the value of two ducats, with the dates of the marshal's birth and death engraven thereon; near seven hundred of these rings were given among the company.

At this meeting, a debate happened between prince Menzikof and prince Galitzin, abusing each other in a very unbecoming manner. The czar being in the next room, overheard them, and fent for Menzikof, and gave him a most severe rebuke, telling him he ought not to forgot himself, but consider he was only of yesterday, whereas prince Galitzin was of the ancient family of the Jagellons, princes of Lithuania, afterwards kings of Poland; and ordered him to

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1720.

BOOK VI. ask pardon of Galitzin before the whole company, which he was obliged to do. The two princes lived ever after in 1720. enmity, but the family of Galitzin were too powerful to fear the refentment of Menzikof.

Captain fectual atthe Ruffian fervice.

The day after the funeral, Knez Repnin was declared Bruce's inaf- field marshal, and fending for me, asked if I chose to be his tempt to quit aid-de-camp. I told him I had already ferved under two field marshals in that station, and as I had been so long in that employ, I hoped he would excuse me: he took my refufal fo much amis, that he threatened to make me repent it. As I was now heartily tired of the Russian service, I thought this a favourable opportunity to ask my discharge, which I did next day, by prefenting a memorial to the czar himfelf: his majesty asked me why I wished to leave his service? It answered, that since marshal Repnin had threatened me, for refusing to serve him as aid-de-camp, it would be unsafe for me to remain any longer in the army. The czar replied, that I was not to be under the command of the marshal, and had. nothing to apprehend from him. I could not then prefume to infift farther on my discharge, for fear of sharing the fate of captain Dean, of the fleet, who was fent into banishment, for laying down his commission, upon a proclamation by king George the First, forbidding all British fubjects to serve in Russia; a copy of which proclamation was given captain Dean, by Mr. Jefferies, the British minister. The captain was released some time after, and returning to England, was fent conful to Oftend.

> The czar having appointed me to be a captain in his own division, I got my company in the regiment of Astrachan, which was then at Revel, to which place I received orders

to repair directly, there to inspect and forward the additional BOOK Vs. works of the fortification, planned by his majesty last year. On my arrival, the 24th of July, I found the works well advanced fince I had left it. I was now billetted on the house of a merchant in town, who led me to a house of pleasure he had at the farther end of his garden, which confifted of a cellar, a room for fervants, and two rooms over them, handsomely furnished. The landlord seeing me seemingly much pleafed with my lodging, faid he was afraid I should be disturbed with some noise in the night-time, and named an officer of my acquaintance, then in town, who had been obliged to leave his liouse on that account: I asked him what noise could disturb me in a place so remote from other houses? He said it was haunted by a ghost: I told him if that was the case, I could, upon occasion, act a ghost myfelf, and as two of the same profession feldom agreed under the same roof, it should be my business to dislodge the other: at the same time I ordered my servants, before the landlord and his people, to load their pieces with ball, that in case of any disturbance, they might be ready to go and fire on those who made it. Those orders prevented any disturbance all the time I lodged there, and others were not afraid to lodge in that haunted house after I left it.

About this time the new king of Sweden fent an adju-Thenewking tant-general to Petersburgh, to notify to the czar, his acces- of Sweden notifies his fion to the throne, by the confent of the queen, his spouse, accession. and the states of the kingdom; and as he had a particular esteem for the czar, he wished for nothing more earnessly than to conclude a firm and lasting peace with him; to which hewas ready to contribute every thing in his power.

The

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joy on his accession to the throne, and thanked him for his notification of it to him; that he was most willing to conclude a lasting peace with Sweden, if his Swedish majesty would also come to a firm resolution on that point. This gentleman was detained for some time at Petersburgh, that he might be an eye-witness of the preparations that were going forward for next campaign, and was shewn all the ships, gallies, and troops; and, after many civilities, was dispatched to Stockholm, with the czar's answer to the king of Sweden's letter.

The czar, to return the compliment he had received from the king of Sweden, fent adjutant-general Romanzof to Stockholm, to felicitate the hereditary prince of Hesse Cassel on his accession to the throne, and assure him how true an esteem he always had for his person; that he earnestly wished to find in him, the same inclination to peace that he had himself. This envoy was received with as much splendor at Stockholm, as that of his Swedish majesty had been at Petersburgh; was carried wherever the court went, and was always one in every court-party of pleasure; and after some stay there, he returned to Petersburgh, highly pleased with the honours he had received at the Swedish court.

A fecond in-

In the mean time, our forces in Finland were not inactive; prince Galitzin advancing as far as Aland with his gallies, to attempt an invasion on Sweden as soon as the frost broke; and before the arrival of the British squadron under sir John Norris, but was prevented by the ice: however, it drew the attention of the Swedes to that side, and savoured the execution of another design. The prince had ordered brigadier

Von Mengden to embark 5000 men at Wafa, and proceed BOOK VI. directly to Uma, in Lapland, which he did; took feveral officers and foldiers prisoners, and burnt the town, in which were feveral magazines; and then penetrating into the country on both fides, burnt and destroyed two gentlemen's seats, forty-one villages, containing above one thousand houses, seventeen mills, one hundred and thirteen magazines, and other buildings; which done, they returned to Wasa loaded. with booty, and without fuffering the smallest loss.

1720.

On the 7th of August, the Swedish vice-admiral attack- The Swedes ed our fleet under Ameland, commanded by prince Galitzin; fleet with lossbut they met with fuch a warm reception as made them sheer. off, with the loss of four frigates and two gallies, one hundred and fifty pieces of cannon, and four hundred prisoners taken, befides two hundred men killed, and three hundred wounded; the prisoners, &c. were afterwards carried in triumph into Petersburgh, at which ceremony both the czar. and czarina were prefent, which was conducted with great. pomp, because no victories were so much prized by the czar. as those he gained at sea.

The feafon of the year at length obliged admiral Norris to leave the Baltic, where it may be faid he had done much, by fuffering the Russians to do little. The czar not doubting but the British squadron would return next year, and feeing, from the conduct of the Swedes, that they must be constrained to sue for the peace they had rejected when offered to them, began early to prepare for a decisive campaign, by augmenting his navy, to put himself in a condition to face both the British and Swedish fleets.

Mr.

ceives the

Mr. Stamke, minister of the duke of Holstein, had been at Petersburgh, since he left Aland on the king of Sweden's The czar re- death; and had done every thing that lay in his power to duke of Hol, obtain the friendship and protection of the czar for that tien into his protection, prince, his master, who waited at Breslaw in Silesia, to know the fuccess of this negotiation. The duke of Holstein, being fon of the late king of Sweden's eldest fister, claimed a right to the crown preferable to that of the princess Ulrica, who was the younger fifter, but now confidered himself farther removed from it, by the refignation the queen had made of her right to her husband, the prince of Hesse. The czar, commiserating the unfortunate circumstances of the duke, whom the late king of Sweden defigned for his fucceffor, determined to afford him his protection, and for the first proof of it sent him a hundred thousand crowns, with an invitation to come from Breslaw to Riga.

Court-martial olonel Graves.

The over-fiscal having laid an information this winter on lieutenant- against lieutenant-colonel Graves, of the artillery, an Englishman, for embezzling his majesty's stores, and selling them to foreign ship-masters, I sat on the court-martial. In the course of the trial we found the accusation to be entirely false, and proceeded from malice, because he refused the fiscal fome stores he wanted, who had suborned two gunners as witnesses against the colonel, but who were both found guilty of perjury, and fent to prison. The fiscal being illpleased with our proceedings, complained to the fiscal-general of our partiality; and he laid the matter before the czar, who ordered the court-martial, the accused, and evidence, to repair to Petersburgh, where the affair was brought before

a board

a board of general officers; and the litigiousness and villany BOOK VI. of the fiscal appeared so evident, that he and his two witeffnes were knouted and banished to Siberia. We had our travelling expences paid, and returned to Revel; but, notwithstanding colonel Graves was honourably acquitted, he could never recover the fix months pay for the time he was under arrest on his trial, which is sufficient evidence of the hardship officers labour under in this fervice: the plea they used was, that he had done no duty in that time. The colonel was fo much difgusted with this treatment, that he left the fervice without taking leave.

At my return to Revel, a comical law-fuit was commenced A curious between my landlord and his brother, both merchants in the tween two town; the cafe was thus: -The two brothers had always brothers. lived at great variance with each other; my landlord, who was very rich, was determined, in case he should die, hisbrother should not succeed him; he had been married several years to a very handsome woman, without having any children by her; the blame whereof he attributed more to himself than to his wife; and being resolved that his wife, at any rate, should have a child, to deprive his brother from. being his heir, he took a lieutenant into his house as a lodger, a handsome young fellow, to whom he gave all manner of opportunities to converse with his wife, having before-hand concerted the matter with her, by which means the foon proved to be with child: she then made the gentleman a. prefent of a purse with a hundred ducats, designing him, at the fame time, to feek out another lodging, as her husband was grown jealous and began to suspect her, which made it absolutely necessary for him to remove, promising, that

BOOK VI. if he ever stood in need of her assistance, he might depend upon her. The gentleman finding her very positive, notwithstanding all his remonstrances, was, at last, obliged to comply, flattering himself to find frequent opportunities to converse with her; but in this he found himself mistaken. for the shunned all occasion of ever being alone with him. This exasperated him so much, that one evening, when he knew her husband to be from home, he forced his way into her bed-chamber, and defired to know why she shunned his company. She very frankly told him, that she had cohabited with him, not from luft, but with an intention to have a child by him to inherit her husband's estate; and as The was now with child, she hoped he would not envy its being heir to a good estate; and defired, therefore, he would not be an inftrument in defaming her and ruining his own child; defiring him to give over any thoughts of enjoying her any more, she being fully determined against it. After this speech she gave him a diamond ring, and a purse with fifty ducats and retired, locking herself up in another room: upon this he went away in a great passion, and in a fit of ill-humour, divulged the whole intrigue to some of his companions, who foon fpread it over the town, by which means his brother got notice of it, and commenced the law-fuit; but the husband acknowledging the child to be his, the fuit was dropt in courfe.

Fresh preparations against Sweden.

As the Swedes still persevered in refusing peace on the terms that had been agreed upon by the late king, the czar was now determined to compel them; and for this purpose augmented prince Galitzin's army in Finland with five battalions and two grenadier companies, from his own division,

and two other regiments from Revel; we all embarked on BOOK VI. board the gallies early in the morning of the oth of May, 1721, and arrived in the evening at Elfingfoo, in Finland. being fifty English miles over.

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The Swedish monarch had sent Mr. Dahlman, his adju- Proposals on tant-general, to the czar, with proposals for a suspension of their part for a cellation of hostilities for one year, and, in the mean time, to settle hostilities, agreed to. affairs towards a lasting peace; but as the czar had made great preparations for the enfuing campaign, he would by no means confent thereto. He confented, however, to the mediation of France, which Mr. Campredon, the French minister at the court of Sweden, had, in some fort, before proposed. Upon this declaration, Mr. Campredon, at the desire of the Swedish court, set out for Petersburgh, to know what were the propositions of the czar, and found his majesty in the same mind he was before the congress of Aland. notwithstanding the many advantages he had gained fince that time. Mr. Campredon returned to Stockholm, and Newstadt, in Finland, was appointed for the congress. where the plenipotentiaries met.

In the month of April, the duke of Holstein arrived at Riga, where the Russian court then resided, and was most graciously received by the czar and czarina; and, at this meeting, the foundation was laid of a nearer alliance with that prince. Our operations in Finland were pushed with great vigour: we were no fooner arrived at Elfingfoo, than fent, under lieutenant-general Lacy, to make a descent A third deon the coasts of Sweden; 5000 men, and 370 Cossacs, with feet on Sweden, their horses, embarked on board of fifty gallies, were under fail the 27th of May, and landed next day near Gevel, on

BOOK VI. on the Swedish coast, and marched along the coast to Sunderham, and from thence to Uma, which is above a hundred leagues. In all that way we met with fo. little refiftance from the Swedes, having, as it feemed, loft their former bravery, that we had only eleven men killed; whereas they had one hundred and three of their's killed, and we took forty-feven prisoners, with one standard and four colours, two brafs and five iron cannon, three trumpets, and ten kettle-drums; we also took and burnt six of their gallies, lately built, with two merchant-ships, and twenty-five other vessels; and burnt and destroyed a magazine of arms and ammunition; ruined a manufactory of muskets, and two iron forges; burnt and destroyed thirteen mills, four towns, five hundred and nine hamlets, ninety-eight parishes, and three hundred and thirty-four barns, &c. &c.

which obliges them to fign the preliminaries, and conclude the peace.

This destructive expedition alarmed the Swedes to such a degree, that their plenipotentiaries at Newstadt had orders to fign the preliminaries directly; upon which we received orders to reimbark with our detachment, and return to Finland, and we arrived at the Junfer Sheerin, the oth of September, where the peace was proclaimed. On the 14th, we went and joined the grand army, under the command of prince Galitzin, at Elfingfoo, where the peace was celebrated with every demonstration of joy, every one now being in hopes of enjoying some ease and rest after this long destructive war, which had lasted twenty years; but we found ourfelves mistaken, for the Swedish war was no sooner ended than another was begun, as will be feen hereafter. On the 16th, I was ordered to demolish the fort at Elsingfoo, and three thousand men being employed on that service, the

materials were foon thrown into the fea, which choaked up BOOK VI. the harbour, and the fort was so effectually rased, that not the least appearance remained of a fort having been on the fpot.

1721.

On the 7th of October, the army embarked on board The fleet and the gallies, to return to Petersburgh, and general Lacy failed army in a florm, and a the fame day with the vanguard, and we followed him the child remarkably preferv-

next with the main body, under the command of prince Ga-ed. litzin; and major-general Von Mengden brought up the rear. On the 10th, we were overtaken by a violent storm. in which we loft feveral gallies, and a number of our men: we faw feveral wrecks on the rocks, which were of general Lacy's detachment, and met a number of feather-beds, tables, chairs, and barrels, floating on the fea; amongst the rest, a barrel floating passed one of the gallies, was taken up, and in it was found a child afleep, which proved to be the child of a major, who, with his lady, perished in the storm; and, as they were both foreigners, the infant was left a destitute orphan without a relation to take care of it; but the case being made known to the czarina, her majesty took care of the child. We had seventeen gallies dashed to pieces in this ftorm, and feveral hundred men drowned. reached Sand-Island on the 11th, and on the 13th Black-Island: it was still blowing fresh with frost and snow, so that it was with difficulty our men could manage the fails, or handle the oars. On the 17th, we got to White-Island. making our way through the shoals of ice, with a great deal of fnow, whereby we were fo benumbed, that we were obliged to keep ourselves in heat by hard labour. On the 18th, we got to Beloforof, where we refitted our damaged gallies,

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Fleet arrive

at Peterf.

Lurg.

BOOK VI. gallies, and on the 20th arrived at Cronflot. We did not stop here, but proceeded and got into the river Neva the next day, where the gallies were collected, and followed each other up the river in grand parade, each faluting the fort as they passed, and coming opposite to the senate-house, were ranged at an anchor, in fix lines, across the river; and on a fignal made by a rocket, we discharged all our guns and fmall-arms at one general volley; which was returned by the fort and admiralty with all their cannon: this was repeated three times, and the prodigious noise made us all fo deaf, that we could scarce hear for several days after. This falute being ended, all the officers, above the degree of a fubaltern, came ashore, by invitation, to the senate-house, where a grand entertainment was provided for all ranks of people, on which occasion numerous fire-works were played off, and the entertainment lasted till day break, when the officers retired on board the gallies, and brought them to the wharfs where they were to be laid up; the men debarked. and we were put into winter-quarters, hoping now to enjoy: our ease for some time after so much fatigue and danger.

> Great rejoicings were now every where displayed throughout the empire; nothing was to be feen but treats, balls, and masquerades; the prisoners on both sides were set atliberty; a general promotion took place both in the army: and navy; our plenipotentiaries were loaded with favours; general Bruce was made a count of the empire, and had a present of ten thousand rubles given him; Mr. Osterman. was made a baron, and had a present of eight thousand; the fecretary got two thousand; a general pardon was given, to all those whose crimes deserved arbitrary punishments;

and all who were under fentence for public debts, which BOOK VI. amounted to feveral millions, were discharged:

On this important occasion, the senate, with the grandees, The exar hothe chief clergy of the empire, and the deputies of the fe-noured by his fenate with veral provinces, went in a body, and thanked his majesty for the tide of the fatherly care and unremitted attention, with which he Great, had applied himself to advance the happiness and prosperity of the empire, and prayed him that he would be pleafed to receive the grateful acknowlegement of his faithful people, and accept, after the example of other monarchs, the titles of Father of his Country, Emperor of all the Russias, and Peter the Great: which titles being offered him by all the states of the empire, he took some time to consider of it; and after fome deliberation, accepted their offer, on which: the fenate repeated three times, long live Peter the Great, Father of his Country, and Emperor of all the Rushas; and the whole assembly testified their applause with the sound of trumpets and kettle-drums, at the fame time the cannon were. discharged from the ramparts of the fort and admiralty, and. that was followed by a falvo from the musketry, of 24,000. foot, befides fome battalions of the guards that were drawn: up before the senate house. His majesty then made a speech. to the states, and thanked them for their loyal address; to which they replied by a profound reverence, and thanked his imperial majesty for his paternal and gracious speech, which was followed by a fecond falute of cannon and imall arms, i and loud acclamations of the people; and this falute by as The fenate next went in a body and congratulated third. the empress, and the imperial princesses, who very graciously, thanked them. The emperor and empress then went to the

hall !

BOOK VI hall of the senate, where the duke of Holstein waited with all his retinue, and with him all the foreign ministers, who, every one congratulated their majesties on their entrance into the hall. After this ceremony, the company fet down to table. where above a thousand persons of both sexes were entertained; the conduits in the street ran with wine; an ox was roasted whole, stuffed with fowls, for the populace: and the evening concluded with illuminations and fire works. which ended these rejoicings that had now continued fifteen days, to the great fatisfaction of every body.

A wife reformation in the business of law.

The emperor having been informed how much his fubjects fuffered from law-fuits, by the avarice of those they employed, in delaying to end a process, while any money was to be got from their clients, now took the matter into confideration, and ordained that a fufficient number of lawyers and attornies should be employed, and that each of them should have a handsome yearly falary, for which they should officiate to all his subjects, in every matter of law, gratis; and to prevent one person being preferred to another, they were obliged to infert every fuit as it was laid before them in their daily registers, and proceed in them according to their dates of entry, without respect of persons; and whoever should be found to accept bribe or fee, or dilatory in forwarding a process at law, should be knouted and fent to Siberia into perpetual banishment: and whatever subject should conceive himself injured by the judge's sentence, might appeal to the emperor in person. This new regulation was highly acceptable to all his majesty's subjects, but more especially to the lower class: and as they had hitherto no written laws, the emperor caused a code to be composed of

the civil law, in as plain, short, and easy a method as pos- BOOK VI. fible, agreeable to the method which marshal Weyde had formerly adopted in compiling the military law; which was contained in a small pocket volume, printed in the Russian and German languages, and of which every officer had one given him for his instruction.

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I was now informed from Scotland, that a small estate had The captain devolved to me there, by the death of my grandfather's bro- leave to quit. ther, upon which I begged count Bruce to procure me leave from the emperor, to go to Scotland, to see my friends and fettle my affairs in that country; but his majesty told him he intended to take me with him upon a certain expedition, where he would have occasion to employ me, and promised when that was at an end, I should have leave to go to Scotland.

The emperor intending to make a triumphal entry into Triumphal Moscow, the metropolis of his empire, ordered his own di- entry into Moscow. vision, or guards, confisting of four regiments, or twelve battalions, and four grenadier companies, to repair to Moscow, where we were to meet on the 26th of December, every one being permitted to make the best of his way to the place of rendezvous, as fuited him; but this was now attended with great inconvenience to the officers, having left all our horses and equipages at Revel, which we were obliged to sell. at a very low rate, and were now hard put to it for want of horses, as the present demand made them very scarce, and excessive dear. Upon my communicating my difficulty to count Bruce, he gave me fix of his coach-horses, which he intended to have fent away before him to Moscow. By which means I fet off by myself the 1st of November, but the frost being not hard enough to carry the weight of the horses,

I found

utmost difficulty; the horses legs soon became so cut and wounded by the ice, which broke at every step they made, that it was the 25th before I could reach Novogorod, where I left the general's horses to be cured of their wounds, and set forward with hired horses to Seragorod, where I got the 4th of December, and joined our regiment who were forming there, and we marched from thence in a body on the 15th, and arrived near Moscow on the 26th, where we joined the rest of our division, and were augmented with two field

regiments, making in all feventeen battalions.

On the 20th of December, his imperial majesty made his triumphal entry in Moscow, in a very fine order; he walked on foot, dressed in his colonel's uniform, at the shead of the first regiment of guards, preceded by a company of grenadiers, and a band of martial music, consisting of a pair of kettle-drums, two trumpets, two French horns, eight hautboys and four bassoons; after the emperor walked two lieutenant-colonels, Menzikof and Butterlin, behind them four majors, Galitzin, Usupof, Matuskin, and Romanzof; after them four captains, followed by four captain lieutenants; next followed the colours of the fixteen companies of the first regiment of guards, in two ranks: the other regiments followed in the same order; and the -balconies, windows and streets through which we marched, were crouded with spectators innumerable. Being arrived at the first triumphal arch, erected in Twer street, his majesty was received with the found of trumpets, and a general difcharge of all the artillery in the city, and ringing of bells. When he arrived at the fecond triumphal arch, he was com-

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plimented by the archbishop of Novogorod, vice-president BOOK VI. of the fynod, at the head of the fecular and regular clergy, where he was entertained fome time with vocal and inftrumental music, performed by young students, in various foreign languages, before the duke of Holstein, the senators, and others of rank. His majesty then proceeded to the third arch, erected by the directions of prince Menzikof, where he stopt a little to gratify the curiofity of the populace, who gave every demonstration of their joy. His majesty then continued his march towards the fourth arch, erected by the magistrates, when he was received by Knez Trubetzkoi. prefident of the magistracy, and by the whole body of magistrates, accompanied by a great number of eminent merchants; from thence we proceeded to the Inoisemska Slaboda, which is that part of the city where all the foreigners dwell, where we were entertained with eating and drinkinging till very late: from whence we went to our respective quarters.

This triumphal entry was fucceeded by fix weeks feafting, with balls, masquerades, and other diversions; amongst the many other shews that were exhibited on this occasion, was a little yacht, of fine wormanship, and gilded all over, mounted with twelve small brass guns, with colours and pendants flying; this vessel was set upon a sledge and drawn by horses, in which the emperor and the duke of Holstein, with others, to the number of twenty, all dreffed in feamen's cloaths, drove for several days through the streets of Moscow, attended by a band of music, from one grandee's house to another, where magnificent entertainments were prepared for them; the guns from the yacht firing at every house

Gg where minated every night; and this shew was very pleasing to the inhabitants, who had never seen any thing like a ship before; people of all ranks minded nothing but their pleasures during the whole time, till a new and sudden affair put a stop to all their merriment, which was this:

1722.

On the 22d of February 1722, a proclamation was made by the found of trumpet, requiring every natural-born subject of the Russian empire, and all foreigners then residing there, to fwear and fign an oath, "That they will acknow-" lege as fuccesfor to the empire, the person whom his ma-" jesty should nominate for their sovereign, after his death." This order struck a damp on the spirits of every body, when they reflected on the undoubted title of the young prince Peter, his majesty's grandson, and only remaining male heir of the imperial family; who was as promifing and hopeful a young prince, as any of his age could possibly be. The order however must be obeyed, and was complied with by many with a reluctant heart, as the innocent prince could not help his father's failings. All the officers of our division were ordered to different parishes, to administer this oath and see it subfcribed; one of the parishes within the city fell to my lot, which being very numerous, took me no lefs than five weeks close attendance, from day light in the morning till late at night by candle; this was to me, the most disagreeable service I ever performed in Russia, as I was so well acquainted with the excellent temper and genius of the young prince, having had the honor to teach him the military excercifes and fortification, and to whose prejudice this oath was certainly administered.

## ВООК VII.

The reason for the Persian expedition .- Embark on the river Moscow .-Nismi-Novogorod. - Embark on the gallies. - The Ceremis Tartars. -Casan Tartars.—Manner of fishing in the Wolga.—Kinds of fish,— Alabafter quarry.—Bulgarian Tartars, and the Maiden-Hill.—Kalmuck Tartars. - Astrachan. - Nagayan Tartars. - Short account of the Tartars in general.—The Nagayan Tartars manner of life. - Defarts near Astrachan rich with falt .- Fruits at Astrachan .- The Banyan woman's burning herself at her kusband's death.—The inhabitants of India.—The Banyans.

A FTER this point was settled, the emperor made pre-BOOK VII.

parations for an expedition to take satisfaction for the injuries he had received from the rebel Persians, bor- The reasons dering on the Caspian sea. Mr. Wolinsky, whom his ma-for the Per-sian expedijesty had fent ambassador to Myr Maghmut, the usurper, was tion. just returned from Persia, with a very unsatisfactory answer. The people about mount Caucasus, on the west side of the Caspian, had taken Schamachi, in the province of Shirvan, and put three hundred Russian merchants to the fword! who were there on their mercantile affairs, and feized their effects to the amount of above a million of rubles: the Ruffian caravan from China, had been treated in the fame manner by the Usbeck Tartars, who were in alliance with the usurper; and the inhabitants of Androsska, near the borders of Russia, had made frequent inroads on the Rusfian territories, and pillaged, burnt, and destroyed, every thing they met with, and carried off a great number of people, of both fexes, into flavery. Mr. Wolinsky, who had been fent to demand fatisfaction for these infults, returning

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with-

BOOK VII. without being able to obtain the least satisfaction, determined the emperor to feek redrefs by force of arms, and to command the expedition in perfon. While this was in agitation, there arrived three fuccessive expresses from Chach Husfein, the dethroned monarch of Persia, imploring his majesty's aid and assistance against the usurper, on conditions too advantageous for fo wife a prince to neglect, and which hastened forward the expedition.

Embark on river Mofcow.

When the emperor first resolved on this expedition, he gave orders for building at Nisni Novogorod, a sufficient number of gallies and store-ships to carry 30,000 of his regular troops down the river Wolga to Astrachan; and having now fettled how the affairs of government were to be conducted in his absence, we embarked on the river Moscow, for our expedition into Asia, on the 26th of April. In going down the river, we had a fine view of one of the most fertile and pleasant countries in the world. On the 3d of May, we arrived before the town of Columna, which is one hundred and eight wersts by water from Moscow, but not half that distance by land; it is a town of considerable fize, environed with a stone wall and towers, and is a bishop's seat. Here the river Moscow falls into the Occa, which coming from the fouth, is not only a much larger river, but has on its banks a noble country, very populous and fruitful; and the vast number of stately oaks on both its shores, renders it one of the most delightful countries in the world. The city of Wolodimer stands between the Occa and Wolga, and is fituated in the most fertile country in all Moscovy; it was for a considerable time the residence of the great dukes, till the imperial feat was transferred to Mos-

Moscow, fince which it is much decayed. To this province BOOK VIL. are annexed the two Tartarian principalities of Cassinou and Mordwa; the capital of the first is Cassinogorod, fituated on the right of the river Occa, furrounded with a great. many villages and monasteries, which stand most pleasantly among the woods. The chief city of the fecond is Moruma. which stands on the left of the Occa, which here receives. the stream of the Clesna, which comes from Wolodimer. Two unfortunate accidents befell us here; a foldier lost his leg by a cable, at the letting go an anchor, and a foldier's wife was fqueezed to death between two veffels, having fallen down in stepping from the one to the other.

On the 25th of May, we arrived before Nisni-Novogorod, Nisni Novoza feven hundred and fifty wersts from Moscow. This city is gorod,... built at the conflux of the two great rivers. Occa and Wolga: the Wolga is, at the junction of the two rivers, four thousand five hundred geometrical feet wide. This river hath its rife from a lake called Wolga, in the province of Roshovie, and is, without doubt, the largest river in Europe, being from its fource to the Caspian, into which it falls, above two thousand nine hundred wersts long; but from its source to this city, running for above four hundred wersts through the fouthern parts of Moscovy, it has but an indifferent stream, and touches upon few places of note. This city received its name from the famous city of Novogorod, the inhabitants of which were, by order of the tyrant Ivan Basilowitz, transported to this place; it is surrounded by very frong stone walls and towers, and the suburbs are larger than the city, being near three miles in circumference; it is inhabited by Tartars, Ruslians, and Dutch, most of

them .

BOOK VII. them merchants; the Dutch have a Protestant church

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All the army destined for this expedition were assembled here in one body, and embarked in the new gallies built here; and as they were but small, fixteen of them were allotted to each regiment, which, with a great many store and hospital ships, made a very numerous fleet. The emperor and empress arrived here the 27th, in a fine yacht, built for them at Moscow. His majesty's birth-day being on the 30th, the army was drawn up in order on the shore, and after firing three vollies, went all again on board the gallies; in firing the guns on board his majesty's yacht, one of them burst, and killed a grenadier on fentry, and wounded one of the maids of honour fo dangeroufly, that she died in a few hours. On this occasion, a grand entertainment was prepared in the city, for their majesties and all the field officers, by Mr. Strogenof, a merchant, reputed to be a man of the most extensive trade and riches, of any merchant in all Russia. He sent plenty of beer and brandy on board the gallies for the foldiers; and at the conclusion of the entertainment, the emperor created Mr. Strogenof a baron, Their majesty's went on board the yacht the same evening, and fet out before us on their paffage to Aftrachan, to fee every thing prepared that was necessary for the expedition over the Caspian, but the fleet was detained some days in getting all things ready.

There was here a Capuci.in friar, who had been a captain in the Swifs fervice; but having killed an officer in a duel he turned Capuchin, and was now in his way as a mislionary to Persia: understanding he was to preach, curiosity led me

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to accompany some officers of the Romish persuasion, to hear BOOK VII. him, and his discourse far exceeded our expectation. After he had ended his fermon, he addressed himself to his audience defiring a passage to Astrachan; but, notwithstanding there were then present, several field-officers of his own perfuafion, none of them had the civility to make him the offer, at which he appeared much concerned. After all the officers were gone out, I went up and told him, if he would accept of a partage from a heretic, he should be very welcome to a share of my cabin, which he very thankfully. accepted; and I must acknowledge, I never travelled with a more agreeable companion, who afterwards, upon all occafions, shewed his utmost gratitude. When we arrived at Aftrachan, he succeeded to one of the fraternity, who was lately dead, and fettled there, which was a happy circumstance for this friar, considering the convulsed state in which Persia then was.

On the 10th of June, our fleet set out under the command of admiral Apraxin. We found vast quantities of asparagus, growing wild on the banks of the river in great perfection, occasioned by the overflowing of its waters from the melting of the flow in the fpring. On the 11th we arrived at Bafiligorod, on the right fide of the Wolga, built by the tyrant of that name, as a frontier place against the incursions of the Tartars, called Ceremisses; but fince the Russians have extended their conquests over the Tartars on that side, all the way to the Caspian sea, this place has been much neglected, and now only refembles a large village.

The Ceremisse Tartars inhabit both side: of the Wolga, from hence to the kingdom of Cafan. They are a people bar-

BOOK VII. harbarous, treacherous, and cruel, living by robberies; their food is wild-fowl, fish, and honey, with plenty of milk, which their pastures furnish them with, and they eat the flesh of their horses and cows, when they die of their own accord, for they never kill any for themselves: they have no houses, but most wretched huts. Those on the right side of the river are called Nagarin, or Mountaineers, and those inhabiting the left, are called Lugoivi, from their meadows, which supply them on both fides of the river with hay: they are all heathens, using neither circumcision nor baptism; they give a child its name from the first person they meet that day fix months after its birth; they acknowlege an immortal God, the author all good, who ought to be adored, but ridicule the immortality of the foul; although they believe not in a . hell, yet they dread the devil as the author of all misfortunes, and therefore they pretend to appeale him with facrifices: when they offer a facrifice to God, they kill a horse, cow, or sheep, and extend its skin on a high pole, which they implore to intercede for them with God, that he may increase the number of their cattle. They have a high veneration for the fun and moon, as the authors of the productions of the earth. They make use of no churches, priests, or books: polygamy is used among them, so as to marry two or three sisters at a time. Their women and maids are all wrapped up in a piece of white coarse cloth, and scarce any thing to be seen but their faces; the men wear a long coat made of linen cloth, under which they wear breeches: they all shave their heads; the young men that are unmarried, leave a tress of hair to hang down their back by way distinction. Their language is peculiar to themselves, having no resemblance to that

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of other neighbouring Tartars, or with the Turkish or Rus- BOOK VII. fian; although some of them that are conversant with the Russians have attained fome knowlege of their tongue. Forty wersts distant from Basiligorod, is the town of Kasmademiunski, situated at the foot of a hill on the right side of the river, the whole country thereabouts being as one continued forest of elm-trees, of an extraordinary compass. Forty wersts farther down the river, on the same shore, stands the town of Sabakzar, the most pleasant of any in those parts, from its fituation. Twenty-five wersts lower, and having past three small islands on the left side of the river, we come to the town of Kockshage. On the same side, some wersts lower down, stands the town of Sujatski, built on the ascent of a hill; the castle and churches are of stone, the rest of the buildings and fortifications are of wood.

Going from this in the night, towards the river Casanski, Casan Tar. my vessel sprung a leak, and was very near being lost before we discovered it: we got ashore with the utmost difficulty, and having cleared the veffel of water, and stopped the leak in the best manner we could, we stood up the river Cafanski, to the city of Cafan, seven wersts from the Wolga, and there I got my vessel repaired. This city is very large, and stands in a fertile plain, on the left side of the Wolga; its houses and fortifications are of wood, but the castle and its works, which confift of four baftions and a good many towers, are of stone; the river furrounding it, serves for a ditch. The garrifon confifts of Russians only, under a governor, but the city is inhabited by Tartars and Russians, who have their own governor. The kings of Cafan, in former times, maintained very bloody wars with the Ruslians,

BOOK VII. and frequently laid them under contribution, bringing commonly an army of fixty thousand men into the field; but they were at last subdued by Ivan Basilowitz, in the year 1552, and the royal family brought prisoners to Moscow, where their posterity still remain, the chief whereof is called the Cafanski czarowitz to this day. It is to be observed that the course of the river Wolga, from Moscow to Casan, is east; and from thence to the Caspian, is south. The kingdom of Casan lies on the left side of the Wolga, and its inhabitants live all in houses, and subsist by agriculture: they fupply the fouthern provinces with all forts of provisions, and by this means they are the most civilized of all the Tartars. They are partly Mahommetans, but most of those who inhabit cities and towns, are of the Greek church; they are forbid, under severe punishment, to enter within any of the fortifications. They are bounded on the fouth by the Tartars of Bulgaria, and on the north by those of Siberia.

> Having got my galley repaired, I departed from Cafan on the 17th of June, but did not overtake the fleet again till we arrived at Aftrachan, as they made no ftop by night or day. About fixty wersts below Casan, the river Kama falls.) into the Wolga on the left fide; and thirty wersts belowthat, the river Zerdick also falls in; and at thirty wersts distant from thence, on the right side of the river, stands the town of Tetus, refembling, by its disorderly buildings, rather a great village than a town. Twenty-five wersts below that, on the opposite side, the river Utka falls in, which rises near the city of Bulgar, the capital of the Tartarian kingdom of that name. Some wersts lower is an island called Staritza, fifteen wersts long; and not far below that, stands the ruins

of a confiderable city among the Tartars, called Ureneskora, BOOK VII. destroyed by Tamerlane; it is most delightfully situated, and famous this day for the sepulchre of one of their saints, to whom they pay great devotion.

A good many wersts below this, on the right side, are likewise to be seen the ruins of two other great cities, not far distant from each other; pleasantly situated near the banks of the river: the first was called Simberska, the second Arbuchim; they were likewise destroyed by Tamerlane. Here I overtook three gallies and one store-ship; they had lost three of their anchors, and had three foldiers and one gunner drowned. Being the fenior officer, I took them under my command, and this meeting made the remainder of the voyage so much the more agreeable, as there were some officers ladies and a band of music on board the store-ship, passing our time with dancing in the evenings, and with fishing and fowling by day, both kinds being of the best fort in great plenty; all forts of butchers meat and others kind of provisions we bought for little or nothing, and as we had good store of all forts of liquors on board our vessels, we passed our time altogether in the store-ship, where we were not straitened for room, very agreeably.

The Wolga, hereabouts, is full of small islands and fandbanks, lying scattered up and down on both shores, which renders the passage very difficult, and at certain seasons impracticable for vessels of great burthen, who are obliged to go for the most part, in the months of May and June, when by reason of the snow melting, and rivers which fall into it being thawed, its waters swell to so great a height, that boats can often pass over the smaller islands. This river

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BOOK VII contains prodigious store of fish of all forts, and which are

1722. Manner of fishing in the Wolga.

a valuable commodity in Muscovy, on account of their numerous fast days, which both Tartars and Russians catch with a cord, but in a different manner. The Tartars take a long rope, to one end of which they fasten a large stone which finks it to the bottom, and to the other end they fasten several large pieces of wood, which float in the water; all along this rope, and at some distance from each other, they fasten many small cords, with a hook at the end of each, baited with a certain small sish, which the large ones are fond of; they lay feveral of these ropes across the river every evening, and take them up in the morning, and feldom mifs a fish of one kind or other on every hook, some of them ten, twelve, or more, feet long. The Russians also use a rope, and fasten a baited hook to the end of it, and have also their small cords baited with small wooden fish, tinned over, which being dragged behind a boat, by the reflection of the fun refembles the scales of fish, by which means they Kinds of fifth. draw up fifth of a very great fize, to the bait. Among the great variety of fish with which this river abounds, the sturgeon is none of the least considerable, whose eggs afford what the Russians call Ikari, and we caviar: the beluga, or white fish, deserves also to be mentioned; they are from five to fix yards long, and thick in proportion; they likewife

> make caviar of the eggs, or roe of this fish, which is of a clear grey colour, larger and more delicious to the taste than those of the sturgeon, but not so fit for exportation, as they

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cannot find out the method to preserve them; the roes of the sturgeon are black and small, and after ten or twelve days preparation in falt, are put up in a paste and transported to all parts of Europe: this commodity affords a con-BOOK VII. fiderable trade to Ruffia. Befides the sturgeon and beluga, it yields also the ofotrin, another very large fish, very fat and delicious: this river also abounds with falmon, sterlitz, a most delicious fish, and innumerable other forts too tedious to mention.

1722.

Going down the river we met feveral strusses, or flat-bottomed vessels, carrying from eight to nine hundred tons, which go loaded from Astrachan to Moscow, with falt, fish, caviar, and all forts of Indian and Persian goods; they feldom carry less than two hundred men, on account of the laborious work they have to undergo, in going up against the stream when the wind fails them, which is often the case: and where the shore is rough, they fend their boats a head with warp anchors to a confiderable distance, one after another, by which means they warp themselves up against the stream very expeditiously; the men running with the warp-rope on their shoulders, relieving each other by turns: where the banks are plain and even, the people are fet to tow her.

Near the ruined city of Arbuchim, was a stone ten yards long, and fix broad and deep, funk in the ground; on the upper fide was an inscription in the Russian language, fignifying, whoever lifted this stone up should be rewarded for their pains; feveral of the inhabitants assembled and turned it up, and found another inscription on the reverse side, " Fools, what do you feek? there is nothing laid here."

From hence we came to a village called Tenefowa, where Alabatter there was a fine alabaster quarry, of which I took three quarry. large pieces, and put them in the store ship, to show them to his majesty. On the 20th of June, we arrived at Sa-

mara,

BOOK VII. mara, on the left fide of the river, a town belonging to the kingdom of Bulgar; the river Samar, from which it takes its name, falls into the Wolga here, and is above three hundred

Bulgarian the Maiden-

wersts from Casan. The form of Samara is square, and the fortifications and buildings are all of wood, except the churches and monasteries. The garrison consists of a number of regular troops and Cossacks under a governor. The life and manners of the Bulgarians, are much the fame with those of Casan. Tartars, and Not far from this place, and near the river Usfa, stands a remarkable hill, called Dewitza-Gora, or the Maiden-hill, of which they relate many fabulous stories that are not worth repeating. It was formerly the rendezvous of a body of Coffack robbers, who from its top, could fee a confiderable distance both up and down the river, and were thereby enabled to intercept and rob fuch veffels as they thought proper; but at this time it was converted into a convent of monks. The hill is in shape like a sugar-loaf, with an easy afcent winding round it to the top; and at small distances on this winding road, are cells containing one monk each; at the top is the dwelling of their superior, whose house, as also the chapel, is built of wood, on a spacious flat piece of ground; from hence is one of the most beautiful profpects I ever faw. By the fides of this winding road, from the bottom to the top, large pine trees stand at such regular distances, as if they had been planted on purpose; and have a most pleasing effect to the eye. At a small distance from hence, rifes another hill, which reaches near forty wersts along the river, and the vallies between are stored with apple-trees, which yield plenty of cyder, which the Russians call yablona quas. Some of those mountains run a long

way into the country. In this most delightful voyage, we BOOK VIL. found great convenience from the pinnaces belonging to the gallies, from fix to ten oars each, which enabled us to gratify our curiofity, without hindering our vessels from proceeding on their voyage.

On the 27th of June we got to Saratof, seventeen hundred and eighty wersts by water from Moscow; here we: caught two large sturgeon and a beluga, or white-fish, fix yards long, and thick in proportion; these three fish were a fufficient meal for all the people on board the five veffels. The city of Saratof is fituated on a very fair large plain; about four wersts from the main river, on a branch of the Wolga; it is inhabited, or rather garrisoned, by a great number of Ruffian foldiers and Coffacks, who are put here as a guard against the incursions of the Kalmuck Tar-Kalmuck tars, inhabiting, a vaft territory lying between the Wolga and the river Jaick, toward the Caspian sea, and possess the left side of the Wolga from hence near to-Astrachan, in all which immense tract there is not so much as one fingle house to be seen, as they all live in tents, and remove from one place to another in quest of pasturage for their large herds of cattle, confifting of horses, camels, cows, and sheep; they neither fow, nor reap, nor make hay for their cattle, fo that they live without bread, or any fort of vegetable; and in the winter their cattle fare as other Their food is flesh (especially that of horses), wild beafts. fish, wild-fowl, and venison, and have a great plenty of milk, butter, and cheefe; but mare's milk is the most efteemed among them, and from it they make a very ftrong spirit, of which they are very fond; it is clear as water, but L.could:

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BOOK VII. I could never learn how it is made. The Kalmucks are divided into an infinite number of hordes, or clans, every one under their own particular chan, and all of those acknowledge the authority of one principal chan, who is called Otchicurti-chan, or the king of kings, and who derives his pedigree from the great Tamerlane. He is a very potent prince, and lives in great splendor; is formidable to all the neighbouring Tartars, and to the Russians themselves, who are obliged to keep confiderable garrifons on the right-fide of the river, all the way from Saratof to Astrachan to prevent their excursions, as the Kalmucks are in possession of the opposite shore, and are also under the necessity of furnishing the Negayan Tartars about Astrachan with arms to defend themselves, in the summer, against the incursions of the Kalmucks, who formerly used to come every summer to ravage the country of the Nagayans about Astrachan, but fince they have been made sensible of the effects of the small arms and cannon now put in their hands by the Russians, they content themselves with coming once a year to the great plains of Astrachan for the conveniency of food for their cattle, at a feafon when their more northern possesfions are quite destitute of it. This is commonly done with not less than one hundred thousand men, and they rarely return without having received their accustomed prefent of bread, brandy, and tobacco, from the governor of Astrachan.

> There is no doubt but the Russians are powerful enough to curb the infolence of these vagabonds, were it not for the confideration of a benefit arifing from the traffic for their furs and horses, which they bring every year in great abundance to Astrachan; and also for the service they are of to

the Ruffians in their wars with the Turks and Crim-Tartars, BOOK VII. being accounted the most alert at pitching and removing their tents of any people in the world, which they are accustomed to by their constant incursions to some or other of the neighbouring countries. It is principally from this view that the Russians looked upon it as a piece of policy rather to allay their fierceness by some presents, which, however, by continuance of time, they now demand as an obligation, than to engage in a war against a multitude of vagabonds who have so little to lose; having neither house nor fixed refidence in all their dominions, but live the year round in tents covered with felts, in which, however, both for neatnefs and conveniency, they far exceed all the neighbouring nations, even those who live in fixed habitations.

The Kalmucks, as well as the other nations of Great Tartary, are Pagans. As to their persons, they are of a low stature, and generally bow-legged, occasioned by their being fo continually on horseback, or sitting with their legs below them; their faces are broad and flat, with a flat nose and little black eyes, diffant from each other like the Chinese; they are of an olive-colour, and their faces full of wrinkles, with very little or no beard; they shave their heads, leaving only a tuft of hair on the crown. The better fort of them wear coats of stuff or filk, above which they wear a large, wide, fur coat of sheep-skins, and a cap of the same: in the time of war, they cover their head and body with iron net-work, which they call a pantzer, the links of which are so close, that it is proof against any kind of weapons except fire-arms, as a bullet will break it, and generally carries fome broken pieces into the wound,

which

only weapons are the scymitar, lance, and bow and arrow; but they are coming into the use of fire-arms, which, in time, will make them more formidable. Their cattle are large, and their sheep are of the largest kind, having great fat tails, weighing from twenty-six to thirty pounds; their ears hanging down like our dogs, and instead of wool they have soft curled hair, so that their skins are all converted into fur coats. Their horses are but small and of a bad shape, but swift, hardy, and strong, and many of them pace naturally, and trot at an incredible rate. They eat the slesh of camels, cows, and sheep, but universally give the preference to that of the horse.

They are, in their own way, the happiest people on the earth, being fatigued with no kind of labour, but diverting themselves with fishing and hunting; and I can conceive nothing preferable to their way of living in the fummer: but in winter they are obliged to cross the river, and live on the bare plain of Astrachan, where their only firing is the dried dung of the cattle, and the cattle themselves starying on the scanty produce of a barren defart. Here they remain till the fpring, when their former habitation, on the east fide of the river, is overflowed for near a month to a vast extent by the melting of the snow, and their country appears one continued fea over-grown with trees: as foon as this fubfides, they return with great joy, swimming their loaded camels and cattle over the river, where the intervening islands make their passage easiest. It is to be observed. that the Kalmucks, when they go upon any expedition, have no regard either to bridges or boats; they no fooner come

to a river, than in they plunge with their horses, and slid-BOOK VII. ing from their backs hold fast by the manes till they get over, and then immediately mount again, and fo proceed. But to return to our passage down the river.

The 2d of July we arrived at Kamufinski, which is a well fortified town, fituate on the river Kamus, and has a numerous garrison of foldiers and Cossacks. A canal was begun here to make a communication between the rivers Wolga and Don, or Tanais, and after being greatly advanced, was at last found impracticable by the vast quantity of hard rock lying in the way, which could only be removed by blowing at fuch an immense expence of time and treasure that the attempt was dropt. Opposite to Kamus, a branch of the Wolga points its course into the country, north-east, one werst, quite contrary to the current of the great river; but afterwards refuming its former course, returns to the southeast, and continues in that direction, till it falls into the Caspian sea. About forty miles from this, and at a small distance from the river-side, are to be seen the ruins of a great city, formerly called Czarefgorod, built, as is related, by Tamerlane: its palace and walls were all of brick, and have ferved the city of Astrachan with materials, these many years, for building their walls, churches, and monasteries. The 4th of July, we came before Czaritza, which is fortified with feveral bastions and towers, but all of wood, and inhabited only by foldiers and Coffacks. All about here, and even as far Astrachan, the island of Zerpinsko excepted, which, being twelve wersts long, supports the cattle belonging to the garrison, the soil is so very barren, that it affords no manner of corn: this defect, however, is eafily supplied

nishing those parts, and even the city of Astrachan, with wheat and rye, at a very moderate price. Forty wersts below Czaritza, this great river casts out her second branch, which joins the first, and with it falls into the sea. From hence, on both sides the Wolga, as far as the sea, grow vast quantities of liquorice of a very large size, its stalk being as thick as a lusty man's arm, and sometimes above four feet high, the seeds lying in cods upon the stalk; yet this is inferior, both in size and sweetness, to that which grows near the river Araxis in Asia.

The 6th, we arrived before Zornayar, feated on the right. fide of the river, on a high shore, near a vast plain, without trees or eminences; the form of the place is a square, fortified with wooden towers and ramparts, and garrifoned with foldiers and Cossacks, all horsemen. A few wersts below this is a third branch of the Wolga, called Buchwostowa, which falls into the two preceding; and at twenty werfts. farther down she fends out her fourth branch called Donitoska, which does not mingle with any of the other three, but flows by a particular channel into the Caspian sea. In passing the left shore, we frequently visited the Kalmucks in their kibbits, or tents, which we always found pitched on the most delightful places I ever faw, their country being a large plain, full of wood and meadows; and we were much diverted with the numbers of their children of both fexes, running naked along the shore; and upon our throwing. bread into the water, they fwam in crouds to take it up, there being none of them but can fivin to admiration. About fixty werfts above Astrachan is the fifth branch of the Wolga,

Wolga, and is called Mitufka, which, at fome diftance from BOOK VII. the main river, divides again into two streams, one of which unites with the Donitotka, and the other returns again to the Wolga. Twenty-five weifts above Aftrachan lies the isle of Busan, and ten wersts below that isle is the fixth branch of the Wolga called Baltzick; and some wersts lower, the feventh, called Knilusse, which forms the isle of Dolgoi, upon which stands the city of Astrachan: having encompassed this island, it falls through several channels into the Caspian sea.

On the 10th of July I arrived at the city of Astrachan, where I joined the army again. They were all furprifed to fee me, as they had been informed by a galley, which paffed us in the night, when we were in our greatest danger, that we were all drowned. Here my agreeable companion, the Capuchin, entered into a cloyfter of his own order, as there happened to be a vacancy by the death of one of their brethren, which was very fortunate for the Capuchin, as the confusions then in Persia made it impracticable for him to proceed thither, as he at first proposed. I met with the utmost gratitude and civility from him and the rest of his brethren, and when I went away, upon our expedition over the Caspian sea, I left every thing I had no occasion for at their convent; and he fent me afterwards, by every ship that arrived, provisions of all kinds, by which means I was better provided than any officer in the army: fo that I lost nothing by my civility to the Capuchin.

The city of Astrachan is situated on the confines of Eu-Astrachan. rope and Afia, which are divided by the river Wolga. It stands on the island of Dolgoi, which is formed by the branches

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BOOK VII branches on that river, as has been already mentioned, in 46 deg. 22 min. north lat. two thousand fix hundred and thirty werfts from Moscow, allowing ninety wersts to a degree. The city is of a confiderable bigness, and at present inhabited almost entirely by Russians; the former inhabitants of the country, being Tartars, are not permitted to live within the walls, but in the adjacent suburbs, which are only fenced round with pallifades: the fortifications of the city are all of stone, very high, and at a distance make a very gallant appearance, especially toward the river, by the great number of stone turrets and steeples; but the houses within the city being all of wood, and very low, its infide does not appear answerable to the rest. There is a great train of artillery in this place, no less than five hundred brass cannon, with a proportionable number of mortars; the garrifon, in peaceable times, is commonly fix thousand men, under the command of a governor and other officers. Aftrachan being fituate on a navigable boundary, between the two most considerable quarters of the globe, is naturally the feat of an immense trade; being frequented not only by the neighbouring Tartar nations, but by Persians, Armenians, and Indians: the Indians have a particular district affigned them within the walls of the city.

Nagayan Tartars.

Czar Iwan Bafilowitz, having conquered the kingdom of Casan, in the year 1552, turned his arms against the Nagayan Tartars, and took Astrachan, their capital, by affault, in the year 1554; and to fecure his conquest he surrounded the city with a strong wall. Czar Michael Fedrowitz, besides strengthening the city with some new fortifications, built that part of it called Strelitza-Gorod, or the city of foldiers, as the military military had their quarters affigned them there. I will now BOOK VII. endeavour to give a short description of this country and its inhabitants.

It feems beyond a dispute, the Tartars were unknown to Short acthe ancient geographers, who comprehended them under Tartars. the general-appellation of Scythians and Sarmatians; it is evident the Tartars confift of feveral nations, distinst among themselves, in their names, language, and customs. Nagayans, with the Tartars of Cafan, and fome others inhabiting between the Wolga and the Don, or Tanais, are faid to have been Indians, who revolting from their fovereigns about the year 1212, emigrated and fettled themselves on the Palus Meotis, near the Euxine sea, and extending their conquests to the river Don, and from thence at last to the Wolga, near which they inhabit at this day. The Nagavans are feated along the shores of the Caspian, from the river Iaick, to the Wolga. Aftrachan, their principal city. they relate to have been built by a Tartar king, whose name being Astra, gave his city the name of Astra-chan, or king. Before this country was conquered by the Ruffians, it was inhabited altogether by Tartars, but now they are neither fuffered to refide within this city, nor build a new one, nor fortify any of their towns or villages with walls.

The Nagayans live for the most part in round huts made The Nagaof bull-rushes, or canes, and seldom exceed twelve or thir-manner of teen yards in circumference, with a hole at the top to let out life. the smoak; yet the least of these huts has a falcon, or hawk. as those Tartars are great masters of this sport: they have hawks of all forts and fizes, each bred to fly at different kinds of game. The Rushians call the Nagayans, vagabonds,

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BOOK VII, as they have no fettled habitations in the fummer, but ramble up and down. They pack up their huts in carts; their wives, children, and goods, on camels, horses, and oxen; and move about from one place to another, where they can find better pasturage for their cattle. When winter approaches, they begin to reassemble with their flocks, to pass it in several troops near Astrachan, where they are furnished with arms to repulse any inroads from the Kalmucks, or other Tartars from the River Iaick; and as foon as the winter is over, they are obliged to return all their arms. They pay no tribute to the Russian emperor, but are obliged to serve him in his wars under their own commanders, as they are, in time of peace, governed by their own petty princes and To fecure their obedience to the emperor, he has always fome of their princes, or myrzas, hostages in the castle of Astrachan.

> Their religion is Mahometanism, of the same sect with the Turks, except fome few who have embraced the religion of the Greek church: they are used to dedicate some of their children, like the Nazarites, to God or to some faint or other; they are distinguished from the rest by a ring, which the boys wear in their right ear, and the girls in their nostril. They live upon what their cattle, hunting, and fishing supply them with. They make use of fish dried in the fun instead of bread, although they also make cakes of meal and rice; they eat camels and horse flesh, and they hold mares milk in great efteem: their common drink is milk and water, yet, besides wine, hydromel (or mead), and brandy, they find indifferent good beer in Astrachan: their cattle are much the same with those of the Kalmucks. The Naga-

yans in their persons are handsomer than the Kalmucks, ef- BOOK VII. pecially their women; the men wear a loofe coat of some coarfe cloth, and over that a fort of cloak of sheep skin, the woolly fide outwards, with a cap of the fame on their heads; the cap is commonly of a black colour. Their women are clad in white linen, with a plaited coif on their heads, both fides of which is ornamented with a great many pieces of filver coin, hanging down. The climate here is very hot; the heat in the months of September and October much exceeds the dog-days in Britain; notwithstanding which, the winter, which feldom continues longer than two months, is fo excessive cold, that this great river is frozen up, and the ice strong enough to carry horses and sledges.

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On the west side of the Wolga, towards the Euxine Sea, Defarts near lies a vast defart, above three hundred and fifty wersts in Aftrachan, rich with falt. length, and fouthward, along the shore of the Caspian, another near four hundred wersts long; on neither of which stands city, town, or village, nor is there a hill or even a tree to be feen in all this immenfe extent, only here and there a little spot of grass; neither is there any water, but what the river Kisliar or some standing pools of salt water afford: yet these very deserts are enriched with prodigious quantities of falt: for from ten to twenty wersts distance from Astrachan. there are large falt veins, which being congealed by the fun, fwims on the furface of the water of the thickness of a finger, as clear and transparent as rock crystal, and smells like a violet; from hence all Russia is supplied with falt. The three principal of these falts-pits, are called Mozakofski, Kainkowa, and Gostofski, where the falt is in such abundance, that one may buy a hundred weight for two pence, on the

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BOOK VII. fpot. It is carried to the Wolga, and from thence transported to other parts.

Fruits at Aftrachan.

The Isle of Dolgoi, or Long Island, about Astrachan, and fome other parts of this province, abound with most excellent fruits, vielding neither for beauty nor flavour to any, even those of Persia or the Indies; their apples, quinces, nuts, peaches, and melons, exceed their other kinds in goodnefs, and especially the water-melon, the rhind of which is of a lively green colour, the meat carnation, and the feeds black, most pleasant to the eye and delicious to the palate, and are fold fo very cheap as two for a penny, and fo large that one is sufficient for two men, and so refreshing, that people in fevers may eat them without danger. It is not yet above one hundred years fince the grape was feen in thefeparts, but the Persians having brought some setts of the vine to this place, they were first planted by a monk, a German by birth, in the garden belonging to his convent, fituated in the fuburbs of Aftrachan; this small stock has been since improved and encreased to that degree, that not only the walks and arbours of the gardens, but large vineyards are planted; the grapes are fo extraordinary large and plentiful, that the tables are not only liberally provided with excellent wine, both red and white, but made in fuch quantities that our army was now supplied with it. Besides this, there is to be found near Astrachan, and all along the Wolga, abundance of fimples, which grow very large. efula is here about as high as a man, and the angelica root as thick as a man's arm. About thirty wersts below Astrachan, is one of the best fisheries in the Wolga, and from which

which the city is plentifully furnished with falmon, sturgeon, BOOK VII. beluga, ofotrin, sterlit, and many other kinds of delicious fish; and the small islands hereabouts abound with great variety of wild-fowl; and although the neighbouring countries are not fertile in corn, yet that defect is so well supplied from the fruitful country of Casan, that, taken altogether, this city may justly be reckoned one the most convenient But to return where I left off. and pleasant in Europe.

The day after my arrival here, I waited on his imperial majesty, and presented him with the three pieces of alabaster I had brought with me from Tenefowa, which pleafed him fo much, that he gave immediate orders to work that quarry, which proved to be most excellent of its kind. The emperor observed, when I had presented him with these pieces of alabafter, that no mineral of any kind whatever, had been difcovered to him by any of his own subjects, but that many had been discovered to him by foreigners: but his majesty did not reflect upon the hardships those were put to upon whose lands any thing of that kind was found, as they not only lost the benefit of it, but were obliged to work the mine by their vassals, without the least emolument to themselves; which verifies the common faying they have in Russia, that every thing they have belongs to God and their emperor.

I was quartered, in this city, at the house of a widow, who had a maid fervant that had been purchased as a flave from the Tartars: this fervant had stolen several things from her mistress, which being found in her custody, she was severely punished for the theft; for which she threatened to be revenged on her mistress, who disregarded the menace at that time: however, she was seized, in a few days after, with

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BOOK VII, such a fit of madness, that they were obliged to bind her: on which the girl disappeared, and in her chest were found 1722, a variety of herbs, roots, and powders; and upon the physicians examining into the nature of them, they foon found out the cause of the woman's disorder, and applying the proper remedy, she recovered her senses again. A party of Tartars brought back the flave, who, upon examination, confessed what she had done, pretending that she understood witchcraft, and could avenge herfelf on those who injured her: on which she was first whipt through the city, and delivered to the Tartars to fell her at some distance.

The Banayan felf at her hufband's death.

The Armenians have one of the suburbs of this city alwoman's burning her- lotted for their residence, and carry on a great trade from hence into Persia; but the Banyans without doubt contribute most to its flourishing condition. They are a fort of Pagan Indians, whose principal pursuit is trade, and have their factory within the city. One of their chief merchants dying at this time, his widow defired leave of the emperor to burn herself with his corpse, according to the custom of their country: but his majesty, unwilling to encourage so barbarous a custom, refused her request, and the Indian factory were fo much diffatisfied with it, that they threatened to withdraw from the city with their effects. His majesty finding no argument could prevail on the woman to alter her resolution, at last gave them leave to do as they thought proper. The corple being dreffed in his cloaths, was carried to some little distance from the town, where a funeral pile of dry wood was raifed, and the body laid upon it: before the pile were hung Indian carpets, to prevent its being feen. The wife in her best apparel, and adorned with ear-rings,

several.

feveral rings on her fingers, and a pearl necklace, attended BOOK VII. by a great number of Indians of both fexes, was led by a bramin, or prieft, to the funeral pile, which on her approach was kindled: she then distributed her upper apparel and jewels among her friends and aquaintances, of whom she took her last farewel with a great deal of ceremony, and the pile being in full flame, and the carpets taken down, she leaped intothe midst of the fire; her friends then poured quantities of oil over her, which foon fuffocated her, and reduced both corpfe to ashes, which were carefully gathered and put intoan urn, to be conveyed to their relations in India.

This barbarous custom was first introduced upon a political account; for polygamy, caufing abundance of heart-burning and jealoufy among the women that were rivals in their husband's affections, it often happened that such as thought themselves neglected, used frequently to procure their husband's deaths; wherefore, to make them more careful of the lives of their husbands, it was ordered that those wives only, who were willing to accompany their husbands to the other world, by being burned with his corpfe whenever he died, should have the reputation of being honest and virtuous; and such as would not give that proof of their affection, should be deemed infamous for ever after the death of their husband. Norwithstanding the obligation to burn with their husbands, imposed no other penalty on such as refused than being accounted infamous for not conforming to fuch a dreadfulcustom, yet fuch was the sense of honour and love for reputation, among the Banyan women, that there are innumerable examples among them, of fuch as have voluntarily faerificed:

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BOOK VII. crificed their lives upon the burning pile: and what makes them undergo this with fo much chearfulness, is a perfuasion, that if a woman has so great an affection for her husband, as to burn herfelf with him after his death, she shall live with him in the other world feven times as long, and shall enjoy him with feven times as much fatisfaction as the has done in this, without a rival; fo that they look upon this kind of death, as a passage through which they are to enter into the enjoyment of those pleasures, of which they had but a small share of in this world. This custom prevails only among the Banyans, and not in general over India.

India is inhabited by three diffinct forts of people; first, the Indostans, who are the ancient natives of the country, an idle and a flovenly generation; fecondly, the Moguls, who came out of Grand Tartary, a warlike people, and much addicted to arms; these are all Mahometans; thirdly, the Banyans, who came originally from China, and are all Pagans, and who apply themselves entirely to manufacture The Banyans are incomparably more ingenious, and trade. fubtle, and civil, than any of the other Indians: there is no trade in Persia, or the Turkish dominions, which is not principally managed by them, nor any commodity throughout all the Indies which they do not deal in. The Banyans are distinguished from those who profess Mahometanism by their habit, for they do not wear their hair long, neither fhave their heads, nor do their women cover their faces, as the Mahometans do. Black teeth are in fo much esteem amongst them, that they call the white-teethed Europeans bondra, or apes. They wear no breeches, as the other Indians

The Bany-

do, but only a piece of thin filk stuff, which is wrapped BOOK VII. about them, hanging down to their hams, over which they wear their smocks, and on them their upper garment, which they tie with a girdle round the waist; under these a narrow waiftcoat, the fleeves of which reach no farther than the elbow; they wear shoes of velvet, brocade, or gilt leather, fastened to their feet with straps, and they pull them off when they go into any room, where the floors are generally covered with tapestry, but when they walk abroad they wear wooden shoes.

Their bramins, or priests, are distinguished from the rest only by what they wear about their heads, which is made of linen cloth, wrapped feveral times round the head to cover their facred bair, which is never cut; they have also two pieces of packthread next their skin, crossing the breast from the shoulders to the waist, which they never put off, though it were to fave their lives. They are, moreover, in fuch reputation for fanctity, that no marriage is holy where the bride has not been confecrated by the facred initiation of the priest, to whom she is always conducted for that purpose; and he rates this part of his boly office at an exorbitant price, besides a strong solicitation to relieve the bridegroom from his drudgery; and thus the crafty priest, by imposing on the simplicity of his flock, improves his natural talent to the best advantage, and satisfies at once both his appetite and his avarice. But this is not all, for the husband retains so much pious regard for his co-partner, that if they go any journey, or upon any occasion are detained from home, he recommends his whole family, but especi1722.

to supply his place till his return; and the wife makes it her care to cherish his languishing spirits with powerful restoratives, at which the Indian women are the most expert of any in the world, as they are also perfect mistresses of the easiest methods, upon certain occasions, of dispatching their husbands to the other world. These are the accounts I received at Astrachan.

## K VIII. 0

Army embark at Afrachan, 18th of July .- Variety of wild focul on the little islands .- Terki, the capital city of Circassia .- Herring in the Cafpian .- Voyage to Bustrow. - General Waterang's account from the province of Andreof .- Circassia and its inhabitants, their manners, religion, &c.—Continuation of the voyage and view of mount Caucasus, &c.— The army land at Agreehan.—March into Afia.—Kindness of the Dagestan Tartars.—The army pass the river Sulack.—General Waterang joins the army .- Embarrassed on their march, and severe punishment on the officers of the guards. - Arrive at Tarku, with a description of the Dagestan Tartars.—Interview with the ladies.—The Dagestan ladies wait on the empress.—Erect a monument at Tarku, and march for Derbent through a fine country.—Sultan Udenach's cruelty, and its confequences .- Twenty desperate Tartars .- A beautiful Tartar youth slain .-Undaunted resolution of the priest.—Arrive at Derbent.—Description of the city.—Remarkable tombs.—Alexander and Melkehatura — Jackcalls and fund bares .- Thirteen transports lost and buried in the fund .- Suckary bread.—Two expresses and one ambassador arrive at the army.—A Turkish ambassador obliges the emperor to return.—Occasion of the troubles in Persia.—The army return.—Cold nights.—Dangerous and harrassing march.—The new town of Swetago-Krest.—Fort at the river Nitzi destroyed, and revenged.—The army re-imbark at Agrechan.—The provisions for the captain's galley lost; a starving voyage. - Arrive at Aftrachan the 15th of October.

Eneral Waterang had been dispatched some time age, EOOK VIII. through the great defart of Aftrachan, with an army of 7,000 dragoons, and 10,000 Cossacks, attended by 20,000 Kalmuck Tartars, with a very large train of camels to carry their provisions and water; and with orders to attack and destroy the province of Andreof, to revenge the many ravaging incursions made by them on the subjects of

Coffacks and 20,000 Kalmuck Tartars more, to augment his army, and enable him to complete the destruction of that province.

Armyembark at Aftrachan.

On the 18th of July, our army embarked on board twohundred and fifty gallies, attended by thirty-five store and hospital-ships; our infantry consisted of 33,000 of those warlike veterans, who had been in every campaign during the long war with Sweden. We fat out from Astrachan the . fame evening, under a general falute from all the artillery of the city and fleet; we dropt down with the stream all night, and arrived next day at the mouth of the river, which is fixty wersts from Astrachan, where we got fight of the Caspian for the first time. We went down the westernmost ftream of the Wolga, which is the only one that can carry veffels of heavy burden; the rest of the streams, which forma prodigious number of small islands, are to the eastward, and fall into the Caspian sea in thirty-two different channels. These islands feed a vast number of cattle in the summer : and as they are all furrounded by vast quantities of thick. tall reeds, the great number of wild fowl, especially sea-fowl, is past description; upon firing of a gun, they rise in theair like a cloud, when numbers of them may be killed with great ease; a greater variety is not to be seen any where in. the known world. Besides swans and common wild geese, there is a very large kind called by the Russians baba, or crop-geefe, and by others pelicans; their bills being a foot and half long, and two inches broad, are forked at the ends; fome of these fowls, from the head to the feet, are above feven feet in length; under their bills they have a thrivelled.

Variety of wild fowl on the little islands.

shrievelled skin hanging, resembling a bag, which when BOOK VIII. dilated, contains three gallons of liquor; this bag they make use of to hold the fish that they catch, which they afterwards eat at their leifure. There is another kind called spoon-geese; their beaks are long and round, and at the extremity are flat like the mouth of a spoon beaten out; this fowl, when it puts its beak in the water, makes a most hideous noise, somewhat like the braying of an ass: another kind, by fome called the red geefe, by others flamingos, are in great flocks on the Caspian shores; they walk after their leader in a very regular order, and at a distance appear not unlike a regiment of foldiers following their commander; their legs are very long, of a scarlet red, and they have very long necks, the plumage of various colours, but their heads are like scarlet, their bodies are of different colours, beautifully variegated, and their wings fearlet; it is in every respect a most beautiful bird; they exceed in height a tall grenadier, with his cap on his head, yet their bodies are not much bigger than that of the fwan: there are also black geese of the ordinary fize, and this kind are no where else to be met with, and are preferable in taste to any of the other geefe. As for wild ducks, their variety is incredible, and to describe their different kinds almost impossible. I cannot, however, pass over two of them without notice, which I thought the most extraordinary; the one is called the fearlet-duck, from the colour of its feathers, which are shaded by other beautiful coloured feathers, and has upon its head a large tuft of feathers resembling a crown, intermixt with all the colours of the rainbow; it is very large, and delicious eating; the other is the yellow-duck, whole I. 1 2

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BOOK VIII, whose feathers are entirely of that colour; these are also very 1722.

large and fat and most excellent eating, and what is very uncommon, they build their nests on the tops of the highest trees, and when their young come out of the shell, they carry them in their beaks to the water: no fowl is more efteemed than these, for their delicious taste, or easier got, as they commonly betray themselves by the noise they make, which is heard at a great distance; they are always in pairs, and when you kill the one you are fure of the other, as it never leaves its dead mate till you kill it also.

Terki, the capital of Circaffia.

On the 20th we weighed from the mouth of the Wolga, under the command of the great admiral Apraxin; their majesties, the emperor and empress, having failed before us for Terki, the capital city of Circassian Tartary, which is the most fouthern boundary of his majesty's present dominions: this city is strongly fortified, and stands on an island formed by the rivers Terki and Bustrow, and is garrifoned by two thousand regulars and one thousand Cossacks, who are all horsemen; the native Circassians are not permitted to live near the city, but inhabit the country at some distance from it-The wind turning contrary, our fleet came to an anchor towards evening, and next day the wind being still foul, the whole fleet took to their oars, and keeping as near the shore as possible, for there is no coming nearer to it than four or five wersts, because of the shallowness of the water, and the whole shore even to that distance being overgrown with frong high reeds, which makes it impossible to land any where, even in a canoe. Towards night a favourable gale relieved the poor wearied foldiers, who had rowed hard all day. The wind continued favourable all night: at one o'clock

in the morning we had heavy rain, with thunder and light BOOK VIII. ning. The weather cleared up on the morning of the 22d; and as the wind continued in our favour, we failed all this day in fight of the shore, and came to an anchor at night near Labugin, in ten feet water. This day afforded us an amuf-Herrings in ing entertainment, with a kind of fifli of the fize and shape of a herring; they fwam and skipped on the surface of the water continually, without offering to go down, notwithstanding we pursued and killed numbers of them: we concluded it was their constant way of living, but having baited fome hooks with them, we caught a sturgeon and two belugas, which convinced us that they fled to the furface to escape the pursuit of the fish of prey, in the same manner as the flying-fish rise to escape the pursuit of the dolphin: these little fish have exactly the shape and taste of herrings, and I am perfuaded they are nothing elfe.

covered

Early in the morning of the 23d, we weighed again, voyage to with the wind still fair, and got out of fight of land; and Bustrows. in the afternoon our division lost fight of the admiral, which gave us no small trouble as we had neither pilot nor compass on board, (indeed the rest of the fleet laboured under the fame inconveniency), and when the night came, not knowing how to steer, we dropt anchor in eighteen feet water, and waited the return of day-light. Early in the morning of the 24th, we got under way again, and about noon got fight of the land, to the great joy of every body on board, as it was the only rule for the direction of our course; but the wind being against us, we were obliged to have recourse to the oar, and rowing along the coast, which was still closely

BOOK VIII covered with firong reeds, above two wersts from the land. which made it impractable to land any where on this coaft, except in the mouth of a river. At night a fignal was made by our commanding officer, to come to an anchor, which we did in nine feet water, where we caught very good fish of feveral kinds. At day break of the 25th, by fignal, we got under way with the oar, the wind being contrary, still rowing as near the reeds as possible: feveral of the gallies fent out their pinnaces to the reeds, when on firing of a musket such multitudes of different sorts of water-fowl rose, that they killed great numbers of them. At night we came again to an anchor in fourteen feet water, after a hard day's labour. The wind proving fair in the morning of the 26th, we got early under way, and towards the evening arrived in the mouth of the river Bustrow, which flows by the city of Terki, fituated three wersts from the shore, and here we found the rest of the fleet which had kept up with the admiral.

General Waterang's account from of Andreof.

While we were here, his majesty received accounts from general Waterang, with the agreeable news that he had dethe Province feated and cut to pieces a body of five thousand men, of the province of Andreof, and that he had burnt and deflroyed their capital city, laid the whole province waste, and carried off all the inhabitants that he could meet with, old and young of both fexes, amounting to many thousands; and fent them to Afrachan under the effort of five thousand Cossacks, and fifteen thousand Kalmucks; and had besides given liberty to feveral thousand Russian slaves of both sexes, who were then on their way to Terki, to be transported

from thence by sea to Astrachan. For this signal success. Book VIII. we had orders to fire three vollies, from all our guns and 1722. fmall arms.

I cannot here omit giving some farther description of Circallia and Circassia, and its inhabitants. Terki, the principal city, is its inhabifeated in a very spacious plain, very swampy towards the manners, religion, &c. fea-fide, in 42 deg. 23 min. north latitude: it is about three wersts in compass, well fortified with ramparts and bastions in the modern style, well stored with cannon, and has always a considerable garrison in it, under the command of a governor. The Circaffian prince who refides here, is allowed five hundred Ruffians for his guard, but none of his own subjects are permitted to dwell within any part of the fortifications. Ever fince the reduction of those parts to the obedience of Russia, they have put in all places of strength, not only Russian garrisons and governors, but magistrates, and priests for the exercise of the Christian religion; yet the Circassian Tartars are governed by their own princes, lords, and judges, but these administer justice in the name of the emperor, and in matters of importance, not without the presence of the Rusfian governors, being all obliged to take the oath of allegiance to his imperial majesty. The apparel of the men of Circassia is much the same with that of the Nagayans, only their caps is fomething larger and their cloaks, being likewife of coarse cloth or theep skins, are fastened only at the neck with a string, and as they are not large enough to cover the whole body, they turn them round according to the wind and weather. The men here are much better favoured than those of Nagaya, and the women extremely well shaped, with exceeding fine features, smooth clear complexions, and beau-

BOOK VIII, beautiful black eyes, which with their black hair hanging in two treffes, one on each fide the face, give them a most lovely appearance; they wear a black coif on their heads, covered with a fine white cloth tied under the chin: during the fummer they all wear only a smock of divers colours, and that open so low before, that one may see below their navels; this with their beautiful faces always uncovered, (contrary to the custom of most of the other provinces in these parts), their good humour and lively freedom in converfation, altogether render them very defirable: notwithstanding which they have the reputation of being very chaste, though they seldom want opportunity; for it is an established point of good manners among them, as soon as any person comes in to speak to the wife, the husband goes out of the house: but whether this continency of their's procetds from their own generofity, to recompence their hufbands for the confidence they put in them, or has its foundation only in fame, I pretend not to determine. Their language they have in common with the other neighbouring Tartars, although the chief people among them are also not ignorant of the Russian; their religion is Paganism, for notwithstanding they use circumcision among them, they have neither priest, alcoran, or mosque, like other Mahomerans. Every body here offers his own facrifice at pleasure, for which, however, they have certain days established rather by custom, than any positive command: their most solemn facrifice is offered at the death of their nearest friends, upon which occasion both men and women meet in the field to be present at the offering, which is an he-goat; and having killed, they flay it, and stretch the skin with the head and

horns on, upon a cross at the top of a long pole, placed BOOK VIII. commonly in a quickfet hedge, (to keep the cattle from it), and near the place the facrifice is offered by boiling and roafting the flesh, which they afterwards eat. When the feast is over, the men rise, and having paid their adoration to the skin, and muttered over some certain prayers, the women withdraw, and the men conclude the geremony with drinking a great quantity of aqua vitæ, and this generally ends in a quarrel before they part. The river Bustrow is the fouthern boundary of Circassia, and the province of Andreof are their next neighbours, who dwell between the river Koisu, which rises out of Mount Caucasus, and the Bustrow. Those people were reduced by general Waterang.

26th, the fleet failed early in the morning of the 27th, with a age, and very favourable breeze, and passed the island of Trenzini, and Wount Caufoon after we faw land on both fides of us, occasioned by a casus, &c. peninfula which formed a large bay, upwards of forty werfts long, and here we had the first view of the high mountains of Caucasus, which seem to hide their heads in the clouds. The mountains of Taurus and Arrarat, are fo contiguous to the Caucasus, that they appear like a continuation of the fame mountain, which croffes all Asia, from Andreof, or Mongrelia, to the Indies. Mount Arrarat is one entire vast rock, exceeding even Caucasus itself in height, its top being covered with fnow all the year round. It is faid to be the fame on which the ark rested after the Deluge. The Armenians, who call it Messina, believe there are still some fragments of that ark on this mountain, but that by the

length of time they were all petrified; which must now re-

Their majesties having embarked on the evening of the Continuation

M m main furrounding precipices. Those high mountains are of great use to mariners in these parts of the Caspian, as most of them have very little knowledge of the compass; the different appearances they make toward the sea, serve as an instruction to the pilots in determining whereabout they are. But to return to our voyage:—we arrived the same evening in the mouth of the river Agrechan, where we anchored

for the night, when we had rain, thunder, and lightning.

The Army land at Agrechan.

By a fignal from the great admiral, early in the morning of the 28th, we began to land our troops, which was performed with much difficulty. By reason of the shoal water, our gallies could not come within a confiderable distance to the shore, and the men were obliged to carry their arms, ammunition, baggage, and provisions, a long way in the water on their backs; the unloaded vessels were all hauled up on the shore, and a strong entrenchment thrown up about them for their fecurity, under the guard of a colonel and fix hundred men, with all our fick, who were afterwards reinforced with a thousand Cossacks from general Waterang's army. Here a great number of Circassian and Dagestan Tartars came to us, with little waggons, horses, camels, and oxen to fell, and being well convinced we could not well proceed without fuch accommodation, they took advantage of our necessity, and made us pay what they pleased to demand for them. I bought a waggon and two horses for my baggage, and one to ride on, for which I was obliged to pay fix times their value.

March into

We remained here till the 4th of August, when we decamped, and began our first march in Asia: the heat was

fo intolerable, that numbers of our men dropt down by the BOOK VIII. way, and notwithstanding that, we marched twenty-five wersts this day, and arrived on the banks of the river Sulack at night. On the 5th we marched ten wersts farther up the river, to a place intended to ferry over our army; on our march we were met by the shafkal, or prince, of Tarku, Kindness of the chief of the Dagestan Tartars, who was attended by a very Tartars. grand retinue, and welcomed his imperial majesty into the Dagestan territories, and offered his assistance to the utmost of his power; his subjects, at the same, brought us all manner of refreshments for the army. After our army passed by him in good order, he feemed to be much furprifed at the regularity and fine discipline he observed they were under, having never feen any regular troops before; and after feeing our camp formed, he left us feemingly well pleased. The Tartars brought fuch quantities of grapes, melons, oranges, pomgranates, apples, pears, &c. to the camp, and our people devoured them fo voraciously, that many were feized with fevers and fluxes; on which no fruit was permitted to be brought into the army. Here we found feveral fmall boats, of which we made two ferries to waft the army over the Sulack.

On the 6th his majesty past over with his own division The army and some other regiments, and formed a camp on the other pass the river sulack. fide, and in the evening the governor of Gorski, and the governor of Axay, two Dagestan princes, came to wait upon his majesty: the first brought him a present of three fine Persian horses, with rich furniture, and six hundred waggons for the baggage, each drawn by two oxen, besides fifty fat oxen to kill for the army: the latter presented his majesty

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BOOK VIII, with fix fine Persian horses, with very rich furniture, and one hundred oxen for the army; recommending themselves and their country to his majesty's protection. The next day we had fuch a violent from of wind, that it blew down all our tents, and made the river swell to that degree, that it overflowed its banks, and we were obliged to remove at some distance from it; several men who were crossing at that time, were drowned in their paffage: our ferries got fo much damage by this storm, that we did not get all the army over General Wa- before the 10th, when we were joined by general Waterang, with his dragoons and Coffacks, and one thousand of the latter were immediately fent back to reinforce those left in the entrenchments, that covered our gallies at the mouth of the river Agrechan. 'The general brought with him prisoner, the chief of the province of Andreof, whom the emperor caused to be hanged up the same day, for an example to others. This irritated the other chiefs of the Dagestans to such a degree, that they were determined to be revenged, which brought us into no small trouble.

terang joins the army.

Embarraffed in their march, and fevere punishment on the guards.

We began to march again on the 11th, with one half of the dragoons and Cossacks for our advanced guard, and the other half to cover our rear; and went thirty wersts that the officers of day, notwithstanding the intense heat, which made many of our men drop by the way. When we halted in the middle of the day, we discovered great numbers of armed men on horseback riding on the sides of the mountains: his majesty was at that time in the rear, and riding along the army, enquired of the men if their pieces were loaded; and being informed they were not, he gave orders himself to load them, ordering, at the same time, all the officers of his own

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division to meet at the head of the grenadier company, where BOOK VIII. having met, he harangued and reprimanded us feverely for neglect of duty; we were then difarmed, and our fwords, (viz. the field officers, who were at the fame time generals, and all the captains,) were put all together into a waggon; the field-officers were ordered to march on foot in one rank, and the captains were formed in three ranks behind them, and every officer was loaded with four muskets on his shoulders; in this posture we marched near two hours in the most intolerable heat, when the empress being informed of our miferable fituation, came up in her chariot with the utmost haste, and pleaded so effectually in our favour, that we were relieved from our heavy burdens, had our fwords restored, and were admitted to kiss his majesty's hand, who told us, that he had only punished the officers of his own guards, because they ought to give a good example to all the rest of the army.—This was discipline with a vengeance.—The poor captain of the grenadiers died the next day of the fatigue, being a corpulent man, and feveral others fickened, fome of whom died also. We lost several horses this day by their eating a poisonous herb and want of water; but none of the camels or oxen were affected, and I concluded they had not eat any of it.

On the 12th, we reached the city of Tarku, ten wersts; Arrive at the shafkal met the emperor half-way, and conducted him feription of to the city; it stands on the fide of a hill, quite open, with-the Dagestan out any walls, and our army encamped on a spacious plain below the town. Being now arrived at the capital of Dagestan Tartary, I shall endeavour to give some description of the province and city, from the best information I could obtain.

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BOOK VIII obtain. Their territory reaches from the river Bustrow, their boundary with Circaffia, all along mount Caucafus, as far as 1722. Derbent, and they are neither subject to the Turk nor the Persian, but are in general governed by the shafkal, who is their supreme head: his office is not hereditary but elective. The whole country of Dagestan is divided into small districts, or lordships, each under the jurisdiction of its proper lord, or myrza, who, though hereditary, is nevertheless not absolute, but his authority is controlled by that of some of the chief men among them. All these petty lords acknowlege one whom they call shafkal as supreme head, to whom they pay their respect, but not passive obedience. These people are generally very mischievous, barbarous, and savage, living for the most part by robbery and plunder; a great part of their livelihood is for the men to steal children, not sparing even those of their own nearest relations, whom they fell to the neighbouring Persians, leaving the care of their cattle to their wives in their absence. They are called Dagestans, from the word Dag, which signifies in their language, a mountain, and are from thence called mountaineers; they pretend to be the descendants of the Amazons, and firmly believe that Thalestris, the queen of the Amazons, went from hence to Hircania on a visit to Alexander the Great, to obtain that favour which ladies, although ever fo

desirous of, seldom care to beg. The Dagestans are all Mahometans, using circumcision and all the other ceremonies of the Turks. Their habit is a long close coat, commonly of a dark grey, or black, coarse cloth, over which they wear a cloak of the same stuff; and in winter, of sheep skins: they wear a square cap of a great many pieces sewed together;

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their shoes are for the most part made of horses hides, BOOK VIII. fewed together only at the instep; the poorest man among them is provided with a coat of mail, headpiece, and buckler, besides a scymitar, javelin, bow and arrows.

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This city of Tarku, being the metropolis of Dagestan, Interview with the lacontains above three thousand houses, and is very full of dies. inhabitants; the houses all two stories high, platformed at top, standing close to each other: the women walk upon them in the cool of the evenings, as the men do in the streets. Every house has a garden stored with all kinds of delicious fruits, and all well supplied with fine springs of water: as for their women, they are incomparably beautiful, both in feature and shape, with a fair clear complexion. accompanied with lovely black eyes and hair; but as the men are very jealous, they are always locked up, fo that it is no easy matter to get fight of them; and I believe we should not have seen any of them if it had not happened We had the liberty to go into the city twice by accident. to buy necessaries, and were ordered on these occasions to go in strong parties and well armed, for we placed no great confidence in the fidelity of the inhabitants; and being in town one day with feveral officers, well escorted, we faw one of the principal inhabitants going into his house, when we made bold to throng in with him much against his inclination; but, being informed by our interpreter, that we were officers of rank, and that we begged the favour he would indulge our curiofity by shewing us the inside of his house, he at last reluctantly consented, and led us into his apartments; the floors were all covered with very fine Per-

BOOK VIII fian tapestry, without any other kind of ornament, excepting fome fine mattraffes, and filk quilts, upon which they lie at night; they have neither chairs nor tables, but all fit or lie on the floor: instead of glass in the windows, they have blinds, very curiously checkered of plaited reed, through which they can fee what passes in the street without being feen within; the walls and cielings are all white, without any ornament. After this he led us into a fquare court, divided in the middle by a high wall, which feparated his own apartments from those of the women; having shewed us also his garden, very well stored with all kinds of fruit, he invited us to fit down with him on a fofa under a piazza, and entertained us with coffee, fruits, and sweet-meats; when captain Brunie, one of our company, shewed him a very pretty shaving-glass he carried in his pocket, and observing he was much pleased with it, the captain made him a prefent of it, which feemed to ingratiate us with him. After some conversation with our host, we begged the favour of him to let us fee his women in their drefs, only at a distance; to which, though unwillingly, he at last confented, and went himself to their apartments to order them to get themselves ready, as we apprehended, and returning prefently, he fat down again and conversed some time with us. He then went again, and brought out four of his wives, and eight of his concubines, and placed them all in a row that we might have a full view of them, in which posture he left them standing, and returning himself to the fofa, he fat down with us: the ladies, however, feemingly displeased to be gazed at, at such a distance, advanced with one accord, and feated themselves upon the sofa opposite to

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us, at which forwardness our host seemed not at all pleased, BOOK VIIIs and they, not regarding him in the least, examined our dress very narrowly, and put a great many questions to us, by our interpreter, especially relating to the customs and dress of our women, and how many women were allowed in our country to each man; on their being informed that no man was allowed to have more than one wife, and that the women had the fame liberty as the men to walk abroad and vifit their neighbours; they clapped their hands, and cried out with emotion, "O! happy, happy country!" Our host not being at all pleased with their conduct, ordered them immediately to their apartments, and they obeyed with much reluctance. They were all most lovely creatures, but the concubines excelled the wives in beauty; the reason is obvious, for they are married to their wives by proxy, and the others they take from choice. After some short stay we took our leave, having invited our hoft to come next day and fee us in the camp; upon his coming we entertained him very handsomely, and he appeared to be most delighted with our regimental music; and he told us at his taking leave, that as we had shewn him so much politeness and civility, we should always be welcome to his house while we staid in those parts; but although we attempted it we never could again obtain admission.

The next view we got of the Dagestan ladies was at the The Dagestempress's tent; the shafkal's ladies, attended by other ladies wait on the of rank and fathion, came to wait on her majesty; they empress. came fo close shut up in coaches that they could not be seen; when they arrived at the empress's tent, they were feated on cushions of crimson velvet, laid on Persian carpets, that

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BOOK VIII. were foread upon the ground, and there they fat crosslegged according to their custom. After they were seated, the empress gave orders that the officers should be admitted to fee the ladies, who were, indeed, all of them extremely lovely; her majesty had ordered, that when one company of the officers had gratified their curiofity, they should retire and make way for others; by which means the vifit of the ladies lasted till it was pretty late at night, when they were attended back to the city by her fervants, with abundance of torches, highly pleafed with their reception; and not only being informed, but also seeing how unconfined our women live, they certainly were as much taken with it as those of our host; and I dare say, if we could have beat up for volunteers among those lovely daughters of the Amazons, their men would now have been left as womenlefs as they were in those ancient times.

Erect a monument at Tarku, and march for Derbent.

His majesty's manifestos having been published, not only throughout Dagestan, but also at Derbent, Backu, and Shamachie; letters were received from Derbent, on the 15th, with assurances, that the manifestoes were received with great joy there, and that they would, with the utmost pleafure, put themselves under the emperor's protection whenever he arrived there with his army. Upon this news it was ordered, that every person belonging to the army, from the highest to the lowest, should bring a stone of the middling fize, into the middle of the camp, where a cross was erected, round which they were piled up for a lasting memorial, I suppose, and after this divine service was performed. broke up on the 16th, and marched twenty-five wersts, in a fcorching heat, to the river Manas, which afforded us

plenty of water, but we could get no forage, and were ob- BOOK VIII. liged to fend our horses in among the mountains for grass, where great numbers of them were taken and carried off by the Tartars, and among the rest all my three horses: When we moved next day, the 17th, general Waterang was fo good as to order two dragoons to difmount, and yoke their horses to my baggage-waggon, but I was, myself, reduced to walk on foot, which was extremely fatiguing in that hot climate. Madam Campenhausen, one of her majesty's ladies of honour, observing me marching on foot before my company, fent in the evening to enquire the reason, and being told my misfortune, was so kind as to acquaint the empress with it, who was graciously pleased to order her equerry to give me a horse with furniture; and his majesty being informed of my necessity, gave orders to provide me with another, fo that I was again mounted, and my fervant also, on horseback: that night, however, I bought two camels for my baggage, at fifteen rubles each, and gave my waggon to one of my officers who was in want of one: I was foon fully convinced of the usefulness of the camels. who not only carry heavy burdens, but feed where no horse can subfist; and can live several days without water, if they get but a handful of falt in lieu of it. This day we passed the river Manas, and at no great distance from it, the river Boinack, over a stone bridge, and encamped for the night at Old Boinack, having marched thirty wersts, and come through large fields of cotton and faffron. this day a number of horses by heat, fatigue, and want of forage. It is to be observed of this country, that the summer is fo excessively hot, and all the grafs is fo entirely Nn 2 withered

BOOK VIII, withered and fcorched up, that the inhabitants are obliged to feed their cattle with hay, which they provide in the winter 1722. when the country abounds with grafs and pasturage. From this place his majesty dispatched three Cossacks, with a guide, to fultan Udenich, who lived at fome distance among the mountains, requiring him to fend a deputation in order to a conference, and defiring him to fupply the army with beafts of burden, to transport our baggage to Derbent.

Sultan Udenich's cruelty quences.

On the 18th we marched twenty-five werfts, and encamped and its confe- on the banks of the river Nitzi, where the guide returned to us, with fultan Udenich's answer, having his nose and both ears cut off, and informed his majefly that they had, in his presence, put the three Cossacks to death, in a most cruel and barbarous manner: the fultan bade him tell the emperor, that whoever of his people fell into his hands they should be treated in the same manner, and as to the defired conference, they were ready to hold it with their scymitars in their hands.

> On the 19th, the Tartars appeared on the fide of the hill, about twelve thousand strong, to put their threats in execution; and as we were fufficiently on our guard by the return of the messenger, the army was immediately under arms without striking their tents, and his majesty marched in perfon toward the enemy with only his own division, which confifted of fix battalions, ordering only a part of the army tofollow. Upon our approaching the foot of the hill, we fired fmartly on each other, without much damage on either fide, and as they stood upon a very high eminence, we could not bring our cannon to bear on them; the emperor perceiving they kept their station without advancing towards us, or-

dered.

dered the dragoons and Cossacks to march round, and attack BOOK VIII. them upon the hill, which they did with great expedition, and as they afcended the declivity we faw them all the way, but they were not discovered by the enemy till they were close at their backs, when a great flaughter enfued, and the Tartars fled with the utmost precipitation, leaving between fix and feven hundred men dead on the fpot, and forty were taken prisoners; among whom were some persons of distinction, and their Mahometan priest, who had been one of their principal leaders, and not only advised but perpetrated with his own hands, that horrid cruel murder of the three Coffacks, cutting open their breafts while they were yet alive, and taking out their hearts, and whose bodies were afterwards found fluck upon stakes near the fultan's palace, by our dragoons who purfued the enemy to the very gates, which they also entered, putting every one they met with to the fword, amounting to upwards of three thousand men; for they had fent away their women and children to the mountains, before they fat out on this expedition, in which, besides the slain, the sultan's residence and six other villages were burnt and entirely destroyed.

In the purfuit, a party of the dragoons had driven twenty Twenty def-Tartars into a narrow place, from which there was no poffibility of escaping, and finding themselves so closely hemmed in, they fell on their knees, and offered, in this supplicating posture, to deliver up their fire arms with the butt ends foremost, upon which twenty of the dragoons were ordered to difmount and fecure them; but upon their approach, these desperadoes rose up and threw their javelins, and killed every one of the dragoons, and then made fo bold an attack with their feymitars in their hands, that they.

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BOOK VIII. wounded feveral more, not giving over till they were every one cut to pieces.

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General Romantzof was ordered to march with our fix battalions, to affift the dragoons in destroying the fultan's refidence, and on our way we were attacked by a body of fix hundred horse, who were coming from a neighbouring chief to Udenich's affistance. In their attack they advanced and retired in a very uncommon manner: they were formed only twelve in front, but fifty in depth, following each other with their drawn fcymitars; when the front ranks had made an attempt on our fcrewed bayonets, they wheeled about and placed themselves again in the rear; having continued to attack us in this manner near half an hour, they thought proper to march off with the loss of several men and horses killed and wounded. In this attack one of their commanders who had diftinguished himself with superior courage and activity, made frequent attempts and wounded two of our men: general Romantzof observing him, and seeing me with a rifle-piece in my hand, defired I would endeavour to bring him down, which I did at his next attack, by shooting him through the thigh, and he tumbled from his horse, which with his own person was immediately secured. general was pleafed to make me a prefent of his horse and furniture, with his fcymitar, bow and arrows; the bridle and furniture were overlaid with studs of gilt filver, the handle and scabbard of the scymitar, with the same in filigree work; the horse I fold for fixty ducats, the scymitar, bow and arrows, I brought with me to Britain, and still have them in By this means general Romantzof made my possession. me some amends for the horse and furniture left me by marshal

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marshal Weyde, which had been detained from me as I BOOK VIII. mentioned formerly. This rencounter being ended, we continued our march toward Udenich's residence, and found all the way we went, the road strewed with dead bodies. which had been killed by our dragoons in the purfuit; and among the rest a youth between eighteen and twenty years A beautiful of age, whose head had been but newly cut off: the beauty flain. of his face and person were, even in death, so extraordinary, that every one stood to look on him as they past the corpse, declaring they had never feen any one comparable to him; but as the admiration of this corpse retarded our march, the general ordered the body to be removed out of the way. After having marched about fifteen wersts, we were met by the dragoons and Cossacks on their return, richly laden. with plunder; and general Waterang having informed Romantzof that all was over and completely finished, we returned all together in one body, and on our arriving at the eminence where the enemy made their first appearance, we found twenty-one of the prisoners hung up by way of reprifal, for the cruel death of our three Cossacks: one of the prisoners was fent back to fultan Udenich, with his nose and ears cut off, with a letter reproaching him with his favage cruelty toward our innocent messengers. The priest was quartered for his inhuman barbarity.

While this detachment were absent on that service, lord Undaunted admiral Apraxin, who commanded the army in chief, had the prieft. been examining some of the prisoners, and asking them why they had put our innocent messengers to so cruel a death, they replied that they knew nothing farther about it, but that it was done by their fultan's orders at the instigation:

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BOOK vin. of the priest: the priest being thereupon interrogated, very - boldly answered, that he would have done the same to every one of our people whom he could have got in his power, to revenge the treatment the Tartars of Andreof had reseeived from us, whose chief we had put to so ignominious a death, and whose friends and allies they were; besides, they were a free nation, and would subject themselves to no prince The admiral then asked him how they could venture to attack fo numerous and regular an army, who were fo far superior to any force they could raise, and all the affistance they could expect from their neighbours; to which the priest replied, that they were not at all afraid of our foot foldiers, who were not able to follow them into mountains, and as to the Cossacks they had been used to beat them often on former occasions: but what disconcerted them most was our blue coats, (meaning the dragoons), who kept fo close together on horseback. He then told the admiral. to ask him no more questions, for he was fully determined not to answer any, and that he neither asked not expected any favour from fuch Christian dogs; upon which he was taken away. Another prisoner being brought before the admiral's tent to be examined, he would give no answer to any question that was put to him, on which he was ordered to be stripped and whipped; but on receiving the first lash, he fnatched a fword from an officer's fide, and flew with it towards the admiral, whom he would certainly have killed, had not the two centries before the tent, run him through the body with their bayonets; and even after he fell he pulled the musket out of the hands of one of the centries, who in struggling to wrest it from him, had a large piece of flefh

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flesh bit out of his arm by this desperate fellow, who was BOOK VIII. hen foon dispatched. His majesty coming up at this time, he admiral told him that he was certainly come into this country to be devoured by mad dogs, having never had fuch a fright before in his whole life: the emperor replied. fmiling, if the people of this country understood the art of war, it would be impossible for any nation to cope with them.

The emperor, with a view to keep these people in awe, ordered a fort to be erected on the river Nitzi, under the direction of baron Renne, lieutenant of the guards, as engineer, and all the Kalmuck Tartars, with fome Cossacks. were left to cover and protect the works.

The army moved again on the 21st, and marching all the way through vineyards and orchards, we came at night to the river Durback, twenty wersts. Here we were met by a messenger, with a handsome retinue, from the strong city of Buku, to congratulate his majesty on his safe arrival in those parts; recommending themselves and their city to his protection; earnestly requesting to be relieved from Myr Maghmud the usurper, against whom they had found means to defend themselves the two years last past, and befeeching the emperor to hasten to their relief.

We marched again on the 22d, through orchards and vineyards, fifteen wersts, when we arrived at a small river, where we found plenty of grafs, having fuffered greatly for want of it all the way from Tarku to this place; and next day, the 23d, we continued our route through these delightful vineyards, fifteen wersts, to Derbent. His majesty was Arrive at met half way by the governor and principal citizens, who Derbent.

BOOK VIII. presented him with the keys of their city, offering, at the fame time, to admit his troops into the citadel, to garrifon it \$722.

for the protection of their city, which had defended itself a confiderable time against the arms of the usurper Maghmud: this generous offer met a very gracious reception. We marched through the city the fame day, under a triple falvo of all their artillery, and encamped on the fouth fide of the town, being now entered for the first time into Persia. We could now plainly see Mount Arrarat from our camp, rearing his fummit far above the rest of the Cauca-The emperor now appointed a governor and three thousand men to garrison the castle, to whom the inhabitants with much joy, gave the immediate possession of, as they were thereby relieved from the fatigues and hardships they had so long undergone, in defending their city against the forces of the usurper: On the ramparts were mounted one hundred iron, and fixty brafs cannon, twelve and nine pounders, with large store of ammunition. At a small distance on each side of the castle, stands a high watch tower, from which they can discover the approach of an enemy at a great distance.

Description of the city.

The city of Derbent, in the province of Shirvan, lies in 41 deg. 51 min. north latitude, is fituated on the shore of the Caspian; the walls are carried into ten feet depth of water, to prevent any one's paffing that way; its length from east to west, is nearly five wersts, but its breadth is not proportionable. It is not only the frontier of Persia, lying on its utmost confines on this side, but may with great propriety be called the gate of it, reaching from the mountain into the sea. The city is divided into three distinct quar-

ters; the castle, situated upon the top of the mountain, BOOK VIII. had always a strong Persian garrison. The fecond, and principal, reaches from the foot of the mountain to the lower town, which makes the third, and reaches to the fea-fide. This last, which was formerly inhabited by Greeks, is not now much frequented, being for the most part converted into gardens, fince the place was regained from the Turks. The whole city is inclosed with a very strong wall, so broad that a waggon may drive along the top of it without the least inconvenience, and flanked with fquare towers at proper distances. The walls are built with large square stones, which appear like a heap of sea-shells cemented together, yet are hard and durable as marble, and when polified look extremely beautiful. Most of the quarries in the Caucasus, are of this kind of stone. The houses are built and furnished in the same manner as those of Tarku; the inhabitants are all Mahometans, except fome Jews, whose chief - bufiness is trading in stolen children, brought to market here by the neighbouring Tartars of Dagestan; or some Turkish or Russian captives, which they pick up on some of their excursions, which the Jews carry farther into Persia, and dispose of.

The mountain above the city, which is for the most part covered with wood, presents us with the ruins of a very ancient wall, which, if any credit can be given to the tradition of the natives, had formerly a communication all the way to the Euxine fea, through an extent of country near three hundred wersts in length: this much, however is certain, the ruins of it still appear in some places six feet high, in others two or three, and in others the track of it is

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the ruins of several old castles, of a square form, two of which remaining undemolished to this day, are garrisoned by the Persians. The natives in general are of opinion, that the city of Derbent was built by Alexander the Great, and that the long wall, which reached to the Euxine, was built by his order, to prevent the incursions of the Scythians into-

Remarkable tombs.

Perfia.

Near to our camp we saw some thousands of tombs, covered with stones half round (cylindrical) but exceeding the ordinary stature of men, having all of them Arabic inscriptions. The report is, that in former ages, (yet fince the time of Mahomet), there was a certain king in Media, named Kaffan, received a fignal defeat in a battle he fought against the Dagestan Tartars at this place, and that the bodies of his officers, flain in the battle, were buried in these tombs. The relation feems not to be altogether fictitious, there being at some small distance, near the sea, forty other tombs exceeding those in bigness, inclosed by a wall, which having each its banner, are faid to be the sepulchres of so many lords of the first rank, and other holy men who accompanied them: here both Persians and Tartars, of both sexes, come to pay their devotions, by kiffing those sepulchres, and laying their hands on them while they are at prayers.

Alexander and Melke-hatun.

The inhabitants of Derbent have an old tradition among them, concerning Alexander the Great and Melkehatun, a widow fultana, in the province of Irvan. On an expedition into those parts, Alexander went as his own ambassador to the city of Berda, where the fultana resided, to demand a surrender of herself, her city, and country, to the discre-

discretion of the conqueror: Melkihatun being a woman of BOOK VIII. curiofity and tafte, had fome time before procured a picture of Alexander, drawn from the life, fo that he had no fooner presented himself before her than she knew him: having delivered his message, she desired him to dine with her, after which he should receive his answer to carry to the king his master; upon which he was carried into a great hall, where a table was covered with gold and filver, and the fide dishes of gold plate were full of her jewels. great conqueror being feated with the queen, she earnestly pressed him to eat, at which the great Alexander was very much furprised, and asked the queen if her table could afford no other victuals than what he faw before him, for these would not allay his hunger: she faid, -" O! Alexander, I " thought you could live on nothing elfe, fince for the fake " of riches, you have laid fo many countries waste, and left "the poor inhabitants to perish for want: you see now, if " you had all the treasure this world affords, and had no " victuals, you must perish." Here she ordered a curtain to be drawn aside, which discovered his own picture, that hung just opposite to him, thereby shewing him by what means she knew him; telling him, that notwithstanding he was now in her power, she would present him with all her treasure, as she found that riches were his only motive for ransacking the world; begging, in return, that she and her fubjects might be allowed to cultivate and enjoy their land in peace. The behaviour and wife discourse of the queen fo pleafed the great Alexander, that he granted her what she could ask or desire, without accepting any of her presents, except her picture; and after being regaled with substantial victuals.

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FOOK VIII. victuals, he departed very well fatisfied with the lady and her entertainment. They fay he then proceeded to the province of Shirwan, and laid the foundation of Derbent, and gave order that a wall should be built from thence to the Euxine sea, with watch-towers at every mile's distance, which was accordingly executed. They also fay, it was at Derbent where he received a visit from the Amazonian queen Thalestris, whose territories extended from hence to the river Bustro, on the borders of Circassa.

> Thirteen store-ships having arrived at the-mouth of the river Millukenti with provisions, from Astrachan, for the army, we marched thither, fifteen wersts, on the 24th, and found them at anchor. Here his majesty proposed to make a harbour for his ships on the Caspian, as there was no other place near Derbent fit for that purpose, and I received orders to erect a fort to cover it: the dragoons were immediately fet to work to provide fascines and palisades, and the infantry to break the ground. The first night after our fires were lighted, we were vifited by creatures called jackals, which howled in a most pitiful manner; the light of our fires had brought such numbers from the mountains, and they made such a disagreeable noise in the very front of our camp, that we could get no fleep for that night; and being ignorant what they were, our furprize continued till daylight, when we shot several of them, and found them to be of the fox kind; after this we fired evening guns, which terrified them fo much, that they kept in the mountains. We found also at this place a number of small creatures, called fand-hares, fomewhat larger than rats; the head, fore-part, and tail, exactly refemble those of the lion; their fore-

Jackalls and fand-hares.

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fore-legs are very fhort, and their hinder ones very long, BOOK VIII. fo that instead of running they jump, backwards or forwards, at a furprifing quick rate, fpringing full three feet from the ground. We had much diversion in chasing these creatures. although we could catch but few of them, as they foon get into their holes, for they burrow like rabbits: they are very fat and good to eat. This night we loft above feven hundred of our horses, all of which swelled and burst by eating a poisonous herb which abounds in these parts; but none of our camels or oxen fuffered by it, who, upon trial, would fearcely fmell at it. The natives are particularly careful to keep their horses from feeding where this herb grows, which is only found near the fea-fide.

We had such a furious storm of wind on the 25th, from Thirteen the north, that all our thirteen store-ships, with our pro- and buried in visions, were driven ashore and soon beat to pieces, but the the fand. men were all faved, and in lefs than three hours there was not the least appearance of any of the wreck to be seen, which was all buried under the fand occasioned by the fhortness of the waves which succeed each other so quickly. that the fands are thereby raifed to a great degree: the next day it was quite calm, and all hands were fet to work to dig for our lost provisions, and with some toil and labour we recovered them; they confifted chiefly in rye meal and flour all in facks, and the falt-water had not penetrated above an inch into them, and all within that was entirely fafe; it was immediately discributed to the army, with orders to bake it into bread, and after that to make fuchary of it. The Russian foldiers always bake their own bread, Suchary making ovens in the ground wherever they come; and when bread.

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BOOK VIII. they are ordered to make fuchary of it, they cut the loaves. which commonly are of fix pound weight, into small square pieces, and dry them in an oven, or in the fun, by which they turn fo light, that a man can eafily carry as much bread as will ferve him twelve or fourteen days, and this kind of bread is fo hard, that they foak it before they eat it; but they never make it but on necessary and pressing occasions. The Rushans are so fond of suchary, that they always have plenty of the best kind of it in their houses and use it in foups; it eats very pleafant, and will keep above a year.

Two expresses and an ambaffador arrive at the army.

Two messengers now arrived in our camp; the one from the city of Shamachie, and the other from Baku, imploring his majesty's assistance against Myr Maghmud, the usurper; and very soon after those, came other three mesfengers, viz. from the Armenians, Melitener, and the Georgians, who are all of them of the communion of the Greek church; praying the emperor to fend them some of his troops to enable them to defend themselves against the usurper, as they were fully determined to persevere in their allegiance to their rightful fophi; and the next day an ambaffador arrived from the young fophi himfelf, who was very pressing to have our army advance with all possible dispatch to his assistance; offering to give his majesty possesfion of the strong cities of Resht, Shamachie, and Baku. Upon this we made all the dispatch we could to finish the fort and harbour; after which we intended to fet out upon this expedition. Having fo many hands continually employed on the works, the fort was finished on the 5th of September, which confifted of four bastions, surrounded by a moat, into which water from the river was led; and a

covert way palifaded; a captain with 200 regulars, and BOOK VIII. 300 Cossacks, were put into it for its defence.

Our army was in readiness to set forward next day, when, A Turkish to our great surprize, a Turkish ambassador arrived from ambassador obliges the Shamachie, informing the emperor that they had taken emperor to return. possession of that city, and that it was by the orders of the grand fignor his mafter, that he came to fignify to his majesty, the umbrage taken by the Porte at the progress he had made in those parts; and likewise to defire him to withdraw his forces; and if the emperor should refuse, to declare war against Russia. Upon weighing this matter duly, his majesty did not think proper to proceed, as he did not choose, at this juncture, to have any rupture with the Turks; more especially, as he was then at so great a distance from his own country with the flower of his army; he therefore immediately refolved to return back, fo that this was the utmost limits, for this time, of our Persian expedition, and the provinces which had now fo earnestly fought our affiftance, were afterwards obliged to put themfelves under the protection of the Turks.

All these troubles and disorders at this time in Persia Occasion of were occasioned by the indolence and sloth of Shah Hussein, in Persia, their king, whose only enjoyments were the pleasures of his haram, (or feraglio,) fuffering his eunuchs to govern at pleafure. This encouraged the Tartars, Moguls, and Arabians, to make feveral irruptions into his provinces, and they were only removed thence by the force of money. Georgi-chan, the prince of Georgia, was governor of the city of Candahar, on the frontier of India, who being informed or apprehending that Myr Weis, the tax gatherer, was endeavour-

BOOK VIII ing to excite a revolt among the Aghvans, communicated the - affair to the court of Ispahan: Myr Weis was sent for. where his fine parts enabled him very foon to make many friends, and at the same time to discover the weakness of a court quite immersed in softness and pleasures. He found means to be fent back to Candahar with some authority; where he was no fooner returned than he affaffinated prince Georgi-chan, and forced the Aghvans to revolt. Thus he raised himself to the sovereign power, which he maintained till the died, the court of Persia not being able to reduce him to obedience. He was fucceeded by his brother, who was foon affaffinated by his nephew Myr Maghmut, fon of Myr Weis. It was he that made himself master of all Persia, and drove Shah Hussein from the throne. What became of that prince after his flight, none could ever tell.

The army return.

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Our army decamped on the 6th of September, and we fet out on our return to Derbent, to the great mortification of those people, who had so long relied on our affistance, whose messengers now left us with heavy hearts, finding all their hopes frustrated, being now left at the mercy of the ufurper Myr Maghmut. The Turkish ambassador attended. us till we entered again into Dagestan. We passed through and encamped on the north fide of Derbent, on our return, to the general joy of the whole army, who did not in the least relish this expedition among such a savage barbarous people. On the 7th the Turkish ambassador had his audience of leave, and went to Derbent, where he remained till he heard we were re-embarked for Aftrachan. We had now left behind us the five hundred men in the fmall fort on the river Millukenti, and our governor and three thou-

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fand men in garrison at Derbent, and this day marching BOOK VIII. fifteen wersts, we rested on the 8th. The heavy dews now began to fall in the night-time, which rendered it very cold; Cold nights. the fudden change from the fcorching heat of the days to the coldness of the nights, made it intolerable. We marched again fifteen wersts on the oth, and rested on the 10th, in the night of which the hills were very thick covered with fnow, which made it fo exceeding cold, that we heartily repented having left our warm cloaths behind us at Astrachan, thinking we should have no occasion for them in so hot a climate.

On the 11th we marched twenty-four wersts to the river Nitzi, where we found the fort finished by baron Ronne, for the defence of which we had left one hundred foldiers, and two hundred Cossacks. It was at this place where we were attacked by fultan Udinach's army, and we now found they had carried away in the night, the bodies of their countrymen we had hung up by way of reprifal for the murder of the Coslacks. A messenger ar- Dangerous rived here from Derbent, to inform us that Udinach, joined and harraffing march, by Persian Usmei and sultan Mahmut of Utimishof, had asfembled twenty thousand men with an intention to attack us in the night-time, which obliged us to stand to our arms all night long, which was bitter cold, and we continued in that posture till next day at noon, the enemy hovering all the while within fight: however, we moved again, and made an afternoon's march of twelve wersts, in continual view of the enemy, who endeavoured to attack us feveral times on our march, but as constantly fled on our approach, still hovering near us, and took two of our Cof-P p 2 facks

mentioned.

wind blew fo very hard this day, that we were almost blinded with the fand and dust, of which they thought to avail themfelves, but were frustrated by our vigilance. We continued under arms all this night, which proved very dewy and cold, but as we were attacked in the night in some part or other, our continual motions kept us in some heat. Next day seeing the enemy drawn up very near us, we formed and continued all day in order of battle, and remained all the following night in the same order, and not a man offered to stir out of his rank, being attacked this night in almost every quarter of the army; yet we no sooner offered to advance toward them than they fled. We now again lost several hundreds of our horses by that poisonous herb before

On the 14th we marched twenty-four wersts in constant view of the enemy, who still kept skirting the mountains, every now and then attacking us with fmall parties, on which occasions we took two more of them prisoners, but were obliged to continue all this night also under arms, without either pitching our tents or lighting fires, by which means officers and men were reduced fo low by continual marching, watching, and cold, that our whole army were become very feeble and unfit for duty. On the 15th, notwithftanding the low frate to which we were reduced, we marched to Tarku, twenty-five werfts, and before we got there the enemy disappeared. We dispatched two trumpeters, attended by two Cossacks, to acquaint the shafkal with our approach, but when we advanced near the city, we found them lying murdered on the road; their cloaths and horfes.

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horses were found in the possession of seven Dagestan Tar-BOOK VIII. tars belonging to Tarku, whom we apprehended and quartered them in the city in the presence of the shafkal and the inhabitants, and hung up their quarters in the most public places for an example to others. His majesty upbraided the shafkal in severe terms, both for the murder of his messengers, and his treachery in joining and conniving with his enemies to annoy his army: the shafkal in his own vindication affured his majefty that he was innocent of what had happened, but that his brother, and two of his own fons, had put themselves at the head of a disaffected body of his people, and rifen in rebellion against him; and as he had now fecured them, he entreated his majesty to take them, and the rest of the malcontents, and do with them whatever he pleased: they were accordingly all delivered over to us, and fent as prisoners or hostages to Astrachan.

We marched again on the 16th, ten wersts from Tarku, without the least molestation: on our way one of the prifoners brought from Tarku, fnatched a fabre from the fide of one of our Cossacks, with which he very near cut off his right arm, but, upon his endeavouring to make his escape, was shot through the head by another Cossack who was attending him. Refuming our march on the 17th, we went twenty-seven wersts; but our guide led us quite out of the road, into fenny and marshy ground quite over-grown with reeds, which occasioned great confusion in the army, and obliged us to return in a very dark night to extricate ourfelves. Our guide being suspected of treachery was put in irons, and being found guilty, he was hanged next morning.

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The new town of Swetago-Kreft.

The 18th, we marched twenty-five wersts to the banks of the Sulack, where the river Agrechan separates from it. Here we found a plain beautiful spot of ground on both fides the river; the country overgrown with large tall trees and excellent pasturage, which enticed his majesty to build a new and well fortified town at this place to keep the Dagestan Tartars in awe, and I had orders to lay a plan before him. The plan confifted of five bastions, and two demi-baffions next the river on the fouth-fide, with ravehins and a palifaded covered way; on the north-fide were fix bastions, also with ravelins and a palisaded covered way; the two fides to communicate by a bridge in the middle over The emperor approved the plan, and all hands were immediately fet to work under my direction in chief, with fix engineers under me to carry on the work: when the works were laid out and the streets regulated, a number of hands were employed in felling timber for building houses, so that fortifying and building went on at the same time. His majesty named the new city Swetago-Krest (or Holy-Cross), and appointed general Waterang commander in chief of the army which was to be left for the protection and accomplishment of the works; the army confisted of 7000 dragoons, 5000 regular infantry, and 6000 Coffacks; in all 18,000 men.

Fort at the river Nitzi revenged.

At this time an express arrived from Derbent, which indestroyed and formed his majesty that a body of 10,000 rebel Persians had attacked our fort at the river Millukenti, and that the garrison had made such a vigorous defence, that the enemy were obliged to retire with the lofs of 600 men; and that the other fort, at the river Nitzi, had been surprised and

taken

taken by fultan Udinach, who had quartered all the garri- BOOK VIII. fon, and crucified the officers on the same spot of ground where we formerly executed his people: the express also brought intelligence, that fultan Udinach was no fooner informed of our army's being gone to the river Sulack, than thinking himself in perfect safety, he had brought all his people down from their retreats in the mountains, and that. they were then enjoying themselves in great security in the vallies. The emperor now lost no time in dispatching a body of light horse, consisting of 10,000 Cossacks, and 15,000 Kalmuck Tartars, who went with fuch expedition, that they came upon them living in the utmost security; put feveral thousands of their men to the fword, the two fultans Udinach and Maghmut, very narrowly escaped, leaving their women, children, and cattle, a prey to the vanguishers, besides their slaves, the whole amounting to feveral thousand of both fexes. Among the flaves were four hundred and thirty-feven Russians, of both sexes, who were now left to inhabit the new city of Swetago-Krest; the emperor allowed the captors two rubles a head for the Ruffians; the rest were fold; as the Cossacks and Kalmucks ferve the emperor in his wars, no purchase no pay, having only bread allowed them while they continue in fervice, all the prisoners and booty they take is their own, to dispose of as they can to the best advantage. When the remaining prifoners, on this occasion, were offered to sale, there were found among them upwards of two hundred Georgianflaves, all Christians of the Greek church; for these anagreement was made with the captors at ten rubles a head, which her majesty, the empress, paid for their redemption, and.

BOOK VIII, and they were likewise left to people the new town. The rest of the Cossacks who were not employed, and the Kal-1722. muck Tartars, were now fent home to their own country through Circassia and the deserts of Astrachan, richly provided with flaves and cattle of all forts, having made a profitable campaign of it.

The army reembark at Afor the captain's gallev loft, a starving voyage.

His majesty was now preparing to move homewards, and embark at A-grechan, and I had accommodated my affairs to stay in this place, but I the provisions received orders to attend the emperor to Astrachan, and to leave the direction of the works to lieutenant-colonel Brunie, as engineer in my absence, which I obeyed with great pleasure; and as I had neither fold my camels, nor horses, the general kindly took upon himself to dispose of them to the best advantage. We marched, on the 1st of October, thirty wersts, along the banks of the river Agrechan, to the entrenchments that protected our gallies, and on our arrival, we found them all out and ready at anchor to receive us. We embarked the fame evening, and the fleet lay there all night; the next morning, a boat coming from the shore with provisions for the use of my galley, sunk before the could reach us; the men were faved, but every bit of the provisions lost; I fent immediately to the admiral a report of our misfortune, and defired a supply of provisions; and he returned for answer, that he could not supply us, as the rest of the gallies had little enough for their own subsistence. Makarof, his majesty's secretary, being then on board with me, was much furprifed at the anfwer; faying, that a fmall share from each galley could not have been missed, and that, from so many, would have been sufficient for us. The fecretary advised me immediately to make

the best of our way to Astrachan, without any regard to the BOOK VII. admiral's fignals, offering to be answerable for the confequences if I should be called to an account for it; which advice I was determined to follow whenever I met with a favourable wind to put it in execution.

The 2d in the afternoon, the fignal was made to weigh. and the weather being quite calm, we rowed along shore till it was dark, when another fignal was made to anchor: the next day it being still a calm, we rowed till night, and while we lay at anchor, a furious storm arose, which beat the short waves so violently against our galley, that she fprung a leak, and notwithstanding all our exertion with the pumps, the water gained fo fast upon us, that we expected she would very soon go down; I run down to the cabin to fee what water was under its floor, and upon entering there, I heard a noise of water below the secretary's bed, and immediately called the carpenter to take up the boards, and then we discovered the leak, which was a hole so big that I thrust my hand through it; we got it immediately stopt, and the pumps then foon cleared the veffel to our great joy: feveral of our gallies were lost in this storm, but most of the people faved. When day-light appeared, we faw four gallies funk at a small distance from us, with their masts only above water, and men hanging by them, where they remained till the boats went and brought them off. Three gallies were fo deeply loaded, that they funk and all the men perished. On the 4th, the storm being abated, and the wind favourable, the fleet failed all day; but the two following days, being quite calm, we were obliged to have recourse to our oars again, and row along shore, which was

reduced to very fhort allowance. The fecretary and I diftributed to them what little provisions and brandy we could fpare, which went but a short way among so many men.

> The 7th, having a favourable wind, we not only made all the fail we could, but likewise applied to our oars, and by this means we foon left the fleet out of fight, and continued under fail all night; but it being calm in the morning, we were obliged to row, notwithstanding the miserablecondition the poor, foldiers were reduced to by hunger: two of them died this day, more for want of food than fickness: at noon the wind began to blow fresh, which relieved the foldiers from the oars, and we continued failing all that night, but I had loft three more of my men. We had a fair wind all day of the 9th, and made the best use wecould of it till we ran a-ground in the evening, but with the affiftance of a warp-anchor, we got her towed off again without the least damage. This little obstruction to our voyage greatly disheartened the poor starving men, and two more of them died that night; and the furvivors were more like ghosts than men, and were now reduced so low that they could no longer handle the oars or fails, and even begged leave to eat their dead companions: from this, however, as we failed with a fine breeze, we got them perfuaded to refrain, in hopes that one day more would bring us to the mouth of the Wolga. On the 10th, the wind still favoured us, till in the evening we happily fell in with a fishing-boat with plenty of fish, and the poor starved men fell to eating them fo voraciously, that they had not patience to broil them; fo that I was obliged to fet off the boat for fear of the men killing-

killing themselves; but as the fishermen had given us a bag BOOK VIII. of fuchary, or bifcuit, it was divided in small shares among them, which, with the broiled fish, a little refreshed them: and the joyful information that feveral provision-ships were lying at the mouth of the river, greatly revived their fainting spirits: I kept one of the fishermen on board for a pilot, and ordered the boat with the fish to follow us, in case we should have farther occasion for them. We continnued to fail all night, but four more of my men died this night, who certainly would have been eaten by their companions, had we not been provided with plenty of fish. The 11th, in the morning, we got into the mouth of the Wolga, where we found store-ships full of all forts of provisions, and of which I had what we wanted, by giving a receipt; yet I lost three more of my men before I got on shore, so that I had fourteen in all starved to death on the voyage, and nine more died of too great plenty after we came on shore. Here we waited the arrival of the fleet, which was on the 14th, in the evening. Admiral Apraxin's galley being the first that entered the river, he enquired what galley that was on shore; and on being informed, he ordered me to come on board his galley. Secretary Makarof went with me, and when we got on board, he had a long conference with the admiral in his cabin, and then I was called in and received his commendations for what I had done, and was dismissed; but from the caution he gave me not to mention what had happened, I had reason to believe he was afraid this proceeding of his might come to the emperor's ears.

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On

BOOK VIII. On the 15th, the fleet proceeded up the river to Astrachan, and on our arrival, were faluted by all the artillery of the city, to the inexpressible joy of the whole army. We Aurachan the 15th of Octo- debarked the next day, and were put into quarters of refreshment, of which we stood in great need. One of our hospital ships, with 360 men, had been cast away upon the coast of Turkistan, or Turkomania, on the east side of the Caspian; of which number only one ensign, a priest, and feven men returned to give the difmal account: the rest had all either died or been made prisoners by the Tartars. We lost on this destructive expedition, above one third of our whole army, not in battle, but by fickness and fatigue.

> At this time an express arrived from Resht, the principal city of the province of Gilan, upon the fouthernmost coast of the Caspian, desiring his majesty to send them a fufficient number of our troops to defend them against the usurper Myr-Maghmut, and offering to put their strong city into our possession. His majesty sent a colonel and two engineers with one thousand men to their relief, by sea to Resht; but at the time of their landing, the usurper being near the town with a numerous army, the inhabitants were afraid to admit our troops into the town; our troops therefore, were obliged to entrench themselves near the seashore. On receiving intelligence of this, general Lewasof was fent with four thousand more men to join them, and on their arrival, the inhabitants admitted them into the city; the general immediately added feveral outworks to strengthen the place, and we remained in full possession

of the province, without the least disturbance from the BOOK VIII. usurper.

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General Lewasof at his setting out, had orders to call at Baku, and leave a garrison there of two thousand men; but he came too late, for the citizens being disappointed of the support they hoped for from our army, when we were at Derbent, were obliged to submit themselves to the obedience of Myr-Maghmut, and they refused to admit our troops.

It may be proper to observe here, that the jealousy which the march of our army into those parts, had excited in the Turks, and the umbrage they had taken at it, was afterward adjusted by our ambassador at Constantinople, where it was mutually agreed that the Turks should keep Shamachie; that Armenia, Melitener, and Georgia, should remain under their protection; and that the emperor, if he chose it, might subdue all the provinces bordering on the Caspian sea.

His majesty being now determined to make all his conquests in suture by sea, without running the risque of ruining an army with marching again by land, gave immediate orders to build a sufficient number of ships of burthen, and finding our former gallies too small for any distant expedition, gave likewise orders to build a number of double gallies of forty oars, to contain above three hundred men each; and having settled all his affairs at this place, he left General Matuskin here to command the army in chief, and ordered the six battalions of his own body guards to attend his person to Moscow. We left all our gallies here, and proceeded in open boats up the river Wolga, so that instead

intolerable hardships; and we who had the honour of being the body guards of this indefatigable monarch, underwent greater fatigues, harder duty, and severer punishment for neglect of it, upon all occasions, than any of the rest of his army.

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## OOK B IX.

Progress up the Wolga to Czaritza.—The ghost there.—A short history of the Costacks.—Stephen Ratzin's rebellion.—Ordered to survey the Cafpian sea, on which he proceeds to Jaick and Yembo .- Island of Kula, and Turkistan Tartars.—Gulf of Iskander.—River Oxus and the Ulbeck Tartars.—The gulf of Carabuga. -River Daria.—River Offa. Gulf of Astrabat. - Provinces of Terebat and Massenderan - Gulf of Sinfili and city of Resht. - Difficult path of the Pyles. - The rivers Ardeschin and Linkeran, and the famous naphtha oil-pits.—The river Cyrus, or Kur.—The city of Baku.—City of Shamachie. City of Derbent.— The river Sulack .- Gulf of Agrechan, Island of Trentzeni and city of Terki.—General Description of the Caspian sea.—Watch tower on John's island -General Matuskin's marriage, to the widow in tears. -Contest among the Kalmucks, and expedition against them. Description of their kibbets. - A battle with the Kalmucks. - Some odd customs among them. The Baranetz, or Lambskin.—Returns for Moscozo up the Wolga,—A narrow escape from the ice. - Proceed by land. A cruel robbery in the woods. - A remarkable discovery of a town, with an account of it. - A wild girl taken in the wood. - Arrival at Moscow.

HE emperor set out from hence on the 5th of No-BOOK IX. vember; for the first three days some soldiers were put on shore to tow the boats against the stream, who were Progress up relieved every hour; the 8th, having a favourable wind the Wolga to Czaritza. from the fouth, we went under fail for four days. On the 11th, we met the ice in large sheets floating down the river, and two of our battalions being then in the rear, I asked, and obtained leave of brigadier Kartzmin, under whose command they were, to make the best of my way, and with much toil and labour reached Zornayar on the 16th, a fortified town with a numerous garrison. The river being

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BOOK IX. completely frozen over this night, I was obliged to draw my boat on shore, and had the good fortune to be the only officer of our division frozen up at an inhabited place. His majesty, with four battalions, was stopt forty wersts above us, and brigadier Kartzmin, with the other two, was stopt forty wersts below us, and could not reach Zornovar by land till the 19th. His majesty preceded by land to Czaritza, and we remained at Zornayar, till the Kalmuck Tartars came over the river on the ice to take up their usual winterquarters in the defart: they covered a road with earth over the ice for their cattle to pass on, their horses, for want of shoeing, as well as their other cattle, being equally unable to fet their feet on the bare ice.

> We now bought horses of the Tartars at a very cheap rate, and fet forward on the 17th of December through a barren desart country, without meeting a fingle house in all our way, being obliged to lay in our tents for four succesfive nights in very cold weather, and in want of every neceffary: we arrived at Czaritza on the 21st at night, which is five hundred werfts above Aftrachan. When the emperor left this place fome time before, with the other battalions, to make the best of his way to Moscow, he left orders for our two (being those of Ingermanland and Astrachan) to remain here for the winter; which orders we received with great pleafure, as we found very good quarters, and notwithstanding the numerous garrison of foot and Cossacks, we had every thing we could wish for in great plenty.

The ghost there.

One day when I was dining with the governor, he entertained us with a long story about a ghost that was frequently feen walking the streets at night, and had continued to do fo

for some years past, bestowing a found beating on any per- BOOK IX. fon who offered to disturb it, but did no other harm. mentioned my furprize that no body had attempted to feize this ghost, as it could certainly be no other than some perfon who took pleasure in frightening the people. The governor, who was a very credulous man, replied with fome warmth, "It was very perceptible I was a foreigner, who " feldom believed any thing."-I told him, that he ought not to take offence at what I had faid, for if he would give me leave I would fecure the ghost the first time it walked the ftreets again, which he granted with a fneer. When I came home to my lodging, I asked one of my serieants if he had heard any thing of a ghost in town; he told me he had seen it frequently, and if I was curious he believed I might fee it that fame night: on which I ordered him to pick out half a dozen flout fellows, and attend with them at my lodging, and fend fome others to look out and bring me word when it appeared. About eleven o'clock at night, information came that it was walking in the next street to that I was in; upon which I fent the ferjeant with three of the men to meet it, and ordered him by all means to feize it, and went myfelf with the other three to follow it in case it should attempt to return back; but it met the serjeant without offering to return or escape; and upon being seized, threw two of the men under his feet, yet they held him fast till I came up; when, presenting a pistol to his breast, he begged to fave his life, and confessed himself to be one of the Coffacks belonging to the garrifon. I carried him immediately to the governor, who was fo much ashamed for having allowed himself to be so long imposed on, and so enraged, Rr

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had not been guilty of any other crime, except that of frightening people, he came off with a fevere whipping, after he
had stood some time with his white sheet about him, as a
show to the people of the town.

A short history of the Cossacks.

Having had frequent occasion to mention the Cossacks, employed both in our armies and garrifons, I shall endeavour to give fome short account of their origin. They were at first no more than a band of free-booters, composed of a wild barbarous rabble, mostly boors, from the provinces of Polish Russia, Volhinia, and Podolia. Having left their native habitations, they fettled themselves on some islands in the river Boristhenes, below Kiovia, where they fubfifted by robbery and plunder. They acquired the name of Cossacks from their agility, the word Cossa signifying as much in the Polish language: they were particularly remarkable for their dexterity in passing between the great number of small islands, situated in the mouth of the Boristhenes: their piracies early became terrible to the Turkish gallies on the Black-Sea, and they grew formidable to Natolia itself, when they not only plundered Trebisond and Sinope, but even the fuburbs of Constantinople did not escape them, and they returned in safety to their habitations with their prisoners and plunder.

The fame of their exploits against the Turks gained them such reputation with the Poles, that Stephen Batori, prince of Transilvania and king of Poland, considering that these Cossacks might be of great use to the crown of Poland, not only against the incursions of the neighbouring Crim Tartars, but also might serve as a considerable addition to the strength

strength of the Polish army, which consisting for the most BOOK IX. part of horse, would be rendered more formidable when augmented by fo confiderable a number of foot, refolved to put these vagabond soldiers into good order and discipline; which he effected by granting them very confiderable privileges, and putting them under a general of their own, called by them hetman, who had the power of naming his own officers. Having thus reduced them into one body, he gave them the city of Techimerof, on the Boristhenes, with all the territory belonging to it, which they made their capital magazine, and residence of their hetman; and by this means, all that tract of defert country which extends itself along the Boristhenes, from Bar, Braclaw, and Kiow, to the Black-Sea, became a populous country, filled with towns and cities, and is now called the Ukrain\*. As this body has been of very great fervice to the crown of Poland, by fecuring its frontiers on that fide against the incursions of the Crim Tartars: fo, after some time, it proved very dangerous, having feveral times taken arms against the republic. which was occasioned by feveral Polish lords, whose boors (their vaffals) could never be well fecured as long as the Cossacks enjoyed their privileges, represented them to the king as dangerous to the republic, by reason of the great numbers of peasants that daily ran over to them. It was resolved to build a fort at a place called Kudak, on a point of land formed by the influx of the river Swamer to the Boristhenes, which was chosen from its situation, as a proper place to bridle the Cossacks, being at no great distance from the place of their ordinary rendezvous. The Cossacks, how-

\* Ukrain, in the Polish language, signifies frontier.

BOOK XI. ever, penetrating the defign of the Poles, were refolved not to fuffer the bridle to be put over their heads; and having defeated two hundred men who were left to fee the fort perfected, under the command of a colonel, they affembled a confiderable body of forces, to prevent the Polish general in his defign; and from that time there were divisions and perpetual wars between the Poles and the Coffacks. During these troubles, great numbers of the Cossacks retired, with their families to the river Don, or Tanais, and fettled between the Don and the Wolga, where they subsisted a long time by their piracies on the Wolga.

> In the year 1653, being greatly oppressed by the Poles, they joined the Russians, who, in the year following, with their affistance, took the cities of Smolinsko and Wilna; so that it was chiefly owing to the valour of the Cossacks, that the provinces of Smolinsko and Severia with the palatinate of Kiovia, were annexed to the Russian empire, and which were all confirmed to them by the treaty of peace in 1666, made at Oliva. About that period the Coffacks in general put themselves under the protection of Russia, and are still distinguished by the Ukrain and Donski Cossacks, the former of which serve mostly on foot, the latter all on horseback. It was the Donski Cossacks who were employed on our expedition at this time, and were put in garrison in all our frontier towns, and are in regular pay, and forage allowed them for their horses. They have now left off robbing, except when they are fent into an enemy's country, then all the booty they make is their own, as also the prifoners they take, whom they may fell or retain as their flaves.

The Coffacks in general are tall, strong, well set, and re-BOOK IXmarkably active; they are liberal even to profusion, placing no great value in riches, but are great lovers of their liberty, which they look upon as a thing inestimable: they are hardy, indefatigable, brave, but great drunkards and very treacherous. Their chief employment is hunting and fishing, yet they apply themselves both to agriculture and arms; their language is a dialect of the Russian and Polish tongues, but more fmooth and agreeable than either; they profess the Greek religion in the same manner as it is established in Russia.

A very dangerous rebellion was raifed in the year 1669, Stephen Ratwhen Alexis (his present majesty's father) was emperor, by lion. one Stephen Ratzin, a Donski Cossack by birth; who, obferving a certain disposition in the Nagayan Tartars inhabiting the kingdom of Astrachan, occasioned by the heavy oppressions they groaned under from the mismanagement and avarice of the Russian governors in those parts, to shake off the Russian yoke, he gathered a considerable party, and being affisted by a great number of the Donski Coffacks, marched at their head against the city of Astrachan, which he belieged and took, after a small relistance. From thence he marched toward Cafan, threatening not only that city, but the fouthern Russia with a most dreadful invafion; and his army increased prodigiously by the vast number of Tartars that flocked to his affiftance. But instead of improving this opportunity to his advantage, he abandoned himself to idleness and all manner of excess and debauchery, by which the Russians had leisure to assemble their forces and stop his career; in which they were so expeditious as to arrive at Casan before he could lay siege to

BOOK IX. the place, and having thus cut off all communication with the country thereabout, from whence Aftrachan and the adjacent parts are supplied with corn, the rebellious army was foon reduced to fuch great diffress, by want of subfiftence, that the Tartars being apprehensive of their approaching danger, for the most part deserted their leader; notwithftanding which, the Cossacks stood it out bravely, refolving to maintain their ground against the Russians; for which purpose they entrenched themselves under the walls of Astrachan. The Russians seeing the desperate resolution of the Cossacks, thought it more adviseable to reduce them, if possible, to obedience by fair means, and a promise of free pardon for all that was past, than by force of arms, which had the defired effect; for Ratzin finding his Coffacks wavering, and being flattered with hopes of forgiveness, by some of his friends in the emperor's court, surrendered himself to the mercy of czar Alexis Michaelovitz, the next year. Hisparty being thus deprived of their head, readily embraced the offer of pardon; but Ratzin not long after found himself extremely mistaken in his hopes, for he was carried into the great market-place, before the castle in Moscow, and there, in the midst of an infinite number of spectators, assembled to see the tragical exit of a man, whom not many months before they had confidered as their most. dreadful enemy, he had first his arms cut off, then his legs, and lastly his head. Ever fince that period, the Coffacks have been kept in ftrict order and discipline, being for the most part employed in garrisoning the frontier towns, in which they never exceed one third, and being all horfemen, they are employed out upon parties to keep the neighbouring

bouring Tartars in awe, the Russian soldiers only doing BOOK XI. duty in the garrisons.

Early this fpring, when we were in hopes of going to Ordered to Moscow, we received orders to return to Astrachan, there Caspian Sea, to remain in garrison till the return of general Matuskin, who had received his orders to proceed to Baku, with a force to reduce that city: accordingly we moved with our two battalions, on the 2d of April, from Czaritza down the Wolga, and arrived at Astrachan on the 8th, where we found the general embarking his troops to fail on his expedition against Baku. At the same time I got very unexpected orders to go all round the Caspian Sea, to furvey and found it, and to lay down, in a chart, all the islands, rivers, creeks, and bays, with the different foundings, and for this fervice had one of the strongest new built gallies, of forty oars, carrying two eighteen pounders in her prow, twenty-four fwivels, and three hundred men; attended with four boats, two of eight oars, one of ten, and another of twelve, each boat carrying one swivel gun; and two sub-engineers were appointed for my assistants.

My first care was to guard against the misfortunes which on which by was so fatal to the last galley I commanded in the Caspian, proceeds by laying in a plentiful stock of provisions, and my old friend, the Capuchin, fent me a present of one cask of very good red wine, one of white, a quarter cask of brandy, and feveral kinds of preserved sweet-meats; so that the good man was never tired in shewing his gratitude, for the small favour I had done him, in his passage down the river. The general with his army fat out on the 15th, and we went down the river on the 18th of April, and got to the

mouth

BOOK XI. mouth of the Wolga next morning; from thence proceeding eastward, we past in very shallow water along the coast fo overgrown with reed, that we were obliged to keep at five or fix miles distance from the shore, in from ten to twelve feet water; and in all the way for eight days time, we could find no place to land even one of our smallest boats. We faw two little islands in our way, but we could not come at them for reed; but we killed a great number of fea-fowl, that have their nests in these islands, and had plenty of fish and fowl all the way. We failed or rowed as the wind permitted, but came to an anchor every night, that nothing might escape our observation.

to Jaick.

On the 26th, we arrived in the river Jaick, the mouth of which is one hundred fathoms broad, and eighteen feet deep; we went to the town of Jaick, which stands about one mile up the river, is well fortified, has a strong garrison of Rusfians and Cossacks, to keep the Kalmuck and Nagayan Tartars in awe, and to prevent them from attacking each other, as they live in perpetual enmity. The Nagayans inhabit all the country from Aftrachan to the Jaick, all along the feacoast, two hundred and fifty-five wersts in extent; and the Kalmucks possess that vast tract of land, from Saratof and the great defert of Beriket, and that tract to the fouth of the Jaick, all along the shore to the river Yembo, which is ninety-three wersts from this place. We stayed only one day at Jaick, and provided ourselves with fresh meat and water. Being informed by the governor that there was a large gulf to the eastward of this place, to the river Yembo, but too shallow to admit our galley, I sent one of the engineers with two of the boats, to go round and furvey it, and join

haste.

us again on the opposite point, for which we proceeded im-BOOK IX. mediately, and failing fouth, we anchored on the 30th, between the island of Kulala, and the point of the main, in fix fathom water, in view of the mountains of Karagan, Kulalu, and from hence we had a clean and deep shore. At this place begin the territories of Turkistan, or the Turkumanian Tartars. During our stay here, waiting thereturn of the engineer, we laid in plenty of wood and water, and diverted ourselves with fowling and fishing: we caught here a beluga upwards of fix yards long, and thick in proportion; from the roe of which we made excellent caviar. which lasted us above a month. Our engineer, with the boats, joined us again on the 10th of May, who reported that in the furvey of the bay, he found only from five to eight feet water; that the whole shore was so covered with reed, that they could only land at the mouth of the river Yembo, which was both broad and deep.

We left the island of Kulala on the 11th, on our way to the gulf of Iskander, where we arrived the 20th. All along this coast there is a great depth of water, so that we could land with our galley on any part of it. A great number of fmall rivers fall into the sea from the mountains, but we could not learn their names, although I attempted to get information by fending the twelve oared boat, with an officer and twenty-four men, and an interpreter to speak with the people on shore: but they no sooner came near enough, than the Tartars let fly a volly of arrows at our people, who returned the falute with a discharge of their musketry, and we fired one of our great guns from the galley at them, which made them retire towards the mountains in great

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BOOK IX haste. They always appeared in great parties, on horseback,

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Gulf of Iskander. well armed, and we saw several of their hords, or camps, at a distance, which they move at pleasure, and wander from place to place, for those Tartars have no settled abode: they continued to attend us every day in great parties, to watch our motions, out of the reach of our guns, and they disappeared entirely on our arrival in the gulf of Iskander, which is one hundred and eighty-four wersts from the Isle of Kulala. In this gulf which is, from east to west, thirty weists in length, and eighteen broad, we found, near the shore, from five to six fathom water, with a clean ground, and exceeding good anchorage; it would be one of the sinest harbours in the world, as both sides of the entrance are extremely well calculated to erect forts upon, for its defence. It lies in 43 deg. 20 min. north; several small rivers fall into it from the mountains.

River Oxus

We left the gulf of Iskander on the 26th, and proceeding along shore two days in good depth of water; we arrived in the river Oxus, being ninety wersts from the gulf. This river is both large and rapid, and is about a musket shot broad at its entrance. Here we found a few unarmed Tartars, who sold us some sheep, and informed us that several hords of Turkumanian Tartars were encamped on the banks of the river, a little way above, and that the Usbeck Tartars encamped on the other side, this river dividing the two nations. We had hitherto seen nothing but sine weather, intermixt with calms and light breezes; but this night we had a dreadful storm of wind, attended with rain, thunder, and lightning, which obliged us to run the galley half a werst up the river for shelter, where we anchored in the middle

middle of the stream, not daring to venture on either side BOOK IX. for fear of the Tartars, having the Turkumanians on the north, and the Usbecks on the fouth, hovering at a distance. The storm lasted till next day at noon, when we left the Oxus, and failing along-shore in deep water, with a clean bottom, attended by parties of the Usbeck Tartars. who observed our motions at a distance from the sides of the mountains. We passed by two small islands covered with trees (called the Lebajee islands), where we took in wood, and killed a number of fea-fowl.

The 2d of June, we arrived at the gulf of Carabuga, The gulf of one hundred and five wersts from the river Oxus; the in- Carabuga. let of the gulf is about two wersts broad, and at one werst within is an island, where we landed with our galley, and encamped the people to refresh themselves on shore, and get our veffel cleaned: from hence I dispatched the two affiftants, in the largest boats, to survey the gulf; directing them to proceed along the opposite sides till they should meet, and then return to the island: in the mean time, I founded all round the inlet, and had from five to fix fathom water; but a few wersts within, we could not reach the bottom; I could observe no current here either in or out. The gulf, from north to fouth, is seventy-five wersts, and fifty from east to west, deep water, a clean bottom, and the shore steep, all round the gulf; it is surrounded with high mountains; two large rivers (the Morga and Herat) fall into it from the east; the entrance is formed by two narrow necks of land, and might be easily secured and fortified; and this island, which is two miles in circumference, would serve for a protection to the shipping. As there

waters of the sea find a passage by this gulf, which made me curious to examine it more particularly, but I could not find the least reason for such a conjecture.

Having enjoyed ourselves very agreeably under the cooling shade of the trees in this hot climate, without the least avprehension of any danger from the Tartars, we took our departure from Carabuga on the 22d, and coafted along fhore for fix days, in very hot weather, without the smallest breeze of wind, which made it intolerable for the poor foldiers, who were obliged to row all the way, and anchoring every night, we had continual flashes of lightning, and these sometimes accompanied with dreadful loud claps of thunder, which are very frequent in this country during the We were every day attended along the shore by numerous parties of the Usbeck Tartars, who seemed very, jealous of our intentions, which obliged us, as often as we wanted to fend ashore for fresh water, to fire our great guns at them, which kept them at a distance, by which means. we supplied ourselves.

River Daria.

One hundred and forty wersts southward from Carabuga, we entered the mouth of the samous river Daria on the 28th; it lies in 39 deg. 15 min. north latitude. It is here where the gold sand is washed down from the mines in the mountains, and here where the unfortunate prince Alexander Bekewitz, a sew years ago, with an army of 3,000 men, were treacherously massacred by the Usbeck Tartars, as I mentioned before. I now saw the place where the fort had been erected, on a narrow neck of land, opposite to the mouth of the river, and which forms a spacious harbour capable.

capable of containing a number of ships of burthen, as there BOOK IX. is from three to four fathom water close to the shore, on a clean bottom with good anchorage; fo that it was a great pity the prince suffered himself to be over-reached by these treacherous Tartars. If this post had been maintained. which might have been done without any manner of danger, it would, in process of time, have been a most glorious acquisition towards enriching the Russian nation. I intended to have gone fome way up this river; but as the Tartars had taken the alarm at our appearance here, and were already come from their camp in formidable bodies. I was obliged to lay afide the defign and leave the place; and passing two bays and three islands, called the Goat Islands, we came to an anchor at one of the islands for the night, where we landed, faw a number of goats, and killed five of them.

1723.

The next day, being the 29th, we arrived at Minkislack, River Osla. on the north-fide of the river Offa, or Orxantes, fixty werfts This river divides the Usbeck Tartary from from Daria. Perfia, is both large and deep, and ships may ride at anchor here in great fafety. Here we were glad to find people dwelling in houses, for we had not seen a house from the time we left Aftrachan, except at Jaick. We found the people of Minkislack both civil and kind: they live after the Persian manner, whose subjects they are, and we got all forts of refreshments at a very cheap rate, and were afterwards no more honoured with an efcort of Tartars. From Minkislack we proceeded along a clean shore, in deep water, where we could have landed with our galley on any part of the coast, and where abundance of small rivulets fall ingrown with a great variety of fruit-trees.

Gulf of Astrabat.

The 4th of July, we arrived at the inlet of the gulf of Affrabat, one hundred and fifty wersts from Minkislack: we entered and anchored within the gulph. The city of Astrabat stands on the river Naren, which falls into the gulf thirty wersts from the inlet; the gulf itself is forty-six wersts from east to west, and has two and a half fathoms of water over all; Astrabat is fortified with high and thick walls, flanked with towers, and is a place of great trade. makes the fouthern extremity of the Caspian sea, and lies in 36 deg. 50 min. north lat. This province, with the neighbouring provinces of Terebat, Massanderan, and Gi-Ian, produce abundance of raw filk, coffee, faffron, and cotton; their filk is esteemed the best in all Persia, and by it they carry on a great trade to different parts, especially to Ruffia, where a filk manufactory is established at Moscow. This country abounds with the most delicious fruits of all kinds, especially their grapes, which are surprisingly large. In coasting the country from hence, we made very particular enquiries of the inhabitants concerning some whirlpools, laid down near this shore in some old maps, but we could neither hear or discover the least appearance of any such thing. In passing the provinces of Terebat and Massanderan, we faw a most delightful country, abounding with plantations of mulberry-trees, and watered by a great number of rivers, whose banks were full of houses, and wherever we landed the people shewed us the utmost civility, furnishing us most chearfully with whatever we wanted at an extraordinary. cheap rate. 9

Provinces of Terebat and Massanderan.

On the 18th, we arrived at the gulf of Sinfili, one hun-BOOK IX. dred and feventy wersts from Astrabat; we went through this gulf in four fathom water, fixteen wersts to the city Gulf of of Resht, the capital of the province of Gilan, which stands Sins and city of Resht. at the mouth of the river Kisilosein: the gulf extends eighteen wersts from east to west; the city is square, and fortified in the same manner as Astrabat, with strong walls and towers.

General Leewasof was now governor, with a garrison of 5,000 men: they were employed at this time in building a citadel of five bastions to command both the town and harbour; but as their principal engineer, captain Sager, had, after a fevere fit of fickness, lost the fight of both his eyes, and they were in want of one to supply his place, the general defired I would leave lieutenant Hartman, one of my affistants, to be engineer, which I agreed to at the lieutenant's own request, as I had now not so much occasion for him as formerly. They had loft a confiderable number of their men by fickness, very common in hot climates. Provisions were both scarce and dear here at present, as the rebels had plundered and laid waste the whole country as far as Baku, and what they had, both for the support of the inhabitants and garrison, they were supplied with from Aftrachan. The raw filk, of which the inhabitants had great quantities on their hands, for want of fale during the troubles, they fent to Astrachan in the transports which had brought the troops to Resht, and they had provisions in return for their filk.

Several wersts above the city there is a road hewn through Difficult path high mountains into Persia, called Pyles, in which only of the Pyles.

BOOK IX. one fingle camel, or horse, can go at a time, following each other. This road is made in steps cut all the way for the beafts to travel in; every man leads his own horse, holding the reins loofe in his hand for fear he should make a false frep, by which it would fall down a high precipice into the river Kifilofein, which runs at the bottom with a rumbling noise: the other side of the road is over-hung with dreadful rocks, which appear as if they would tumble down upon the traveller, which renders it a very difmal passage. If it should happen by accident that travellers should meet, it is impossible for either to make way, for which reason there is always one fent before to prevent its happening.

The rivers Ardeschim! and Linkeran, and the famous naphtha oil-pits.

Having stopt two weeks at Resht, we sat out again on our way northward, coafting a clean deep shore, and passing by the river Ardeschin, we arrived at the river Linkeran, on the 4th of August. Not far from this river stands the famous mountain Barmach, remarkable for the oil called naphtha, which issues from it in thirty different pits, all within the compass of a musket-shot of each other: the pits are some two, some three fathom deep, into which the people descend by steps; the oil is of two kinds, brown and white: the brown is of a strong disagreeable smell, and much the most plentiful, as it is found in twenty-seven of the pits; it is used for burning in lamps, in dressing of leather, and for feveral other purposes; the white, which is only found in three of the pits, has a pleasant smell, is the most valuable, and is used as an infallible remedy in strains and bruises; as the oil rises from the mountain in the pits, it is heard as the bubbling of a boiling pot; it is carried from hence to a great distance. I bought several jars of each kind,

kind, and carried with me to Astrachan, where it proved to BOOK IX. be a very defirable commodity. At this place we had an-1723. other violent storm of wind, but taking shelter in the river, we lay very fafe: we thought ourselves fortunate in being at the mouth of a river in both storms, as they are not eafily weathered in this fea, where the short waves breaking in fuch quick fuccession upon the vessel, require a strong ship to withstand them.

On the 18th, we arrived at the river Cyrus, or Kur, The river which is joined by the river Araxis, and is the most con-Cyrus, orKur, fiderable river on the western coast of the Caspian, into which it falls through five different channels. We proceeded for the city of Baku, where we arrived the next day, The City of just after General Matuskin had got under way on his re- Baku. turn to Astrachan. Baku had surrendered after a short bombardment, and brigadier Knez Baratinski was left governor of the city, with a garrison of four thousand men. Baku lies from Resht two hundred and fifty-five wersts: it is very strongly fortified with three walls within each other. each with towers, and which form three distinct divisions of the city; the innermost standing on the highest ground, by way of a citadel, commands the rest: it is mounted with a number of brass cannon. The governor with his garrifon, took possession of this part; the outer wall is well supplied with iron cannon, the gates were strongly guarded by detachments from the citadel. At small distances from the city, stand three high watch-towers, built on eminences, from which they can discover the approach of any enemy, by sea or land, at a great distance. At the south end of the city, there is a large bay formed by a peninfula, which stretches sifteen

Tt wersts dious harbour, where ships can load and unload close to the gates of the city, in four and a half fathom water, safe from all winds except the south, and from that too they are secured by some small islands, upon which they feed sheep and goats; by which means this harbour is, without dispute, one of the most commodious for trade, in all the Caspian; city of Shaeshee.

City of Shaeshee especially with Shamachie, which is reputed to be the largest and most populous city in those parts, and is only three days journey from hence. At Shamachie there are factories from all the eastern nations, which occasions that city to be much

reforted to from all parts.

City of Der-

We stayed only three days at Baku, and proceeding along the coast in deep water, past by several islands and rivers, and came to an anchor before Derbent on the 26th at night; but as it blew a fresh gale at east, and there is no safe landing-place near this town, I could not go ashore. From Baku to Derbent is ninety English miles by land. We proceeded next morning along the coast, and arrived on the 2d of September, in the river Sulack; and I went the fame evening, in the twelve-oared boat, fifteen wersts up the river, to the fortress of Swetago Krest, or Holy Cross, where I found the fortifications surprisingly advanced, and wooden houses built on both sides of the river in regular streets, agreeable to the plan, and fo numerous that the whole army were now lodged in them. The wooden bridge over the river was also finished, with two draw bridges, one at each end, fo that an eafy communication was opened between the two fides of the river. The troops here were in good health and high spirits, and kept up a weekly correspond-

ence with the garrifons of Derbent and Terki in Circaffia; BOOK IX neither of which had been molested by the Dagestan Tartars fince we left them. A number of hands were now emploved here in making bricks to face the works, and for building houses. This fort promises fair to be an effectual check upon the irruptions of the Dagestans into the Russian territories, in which they used to do much mischief, and carry off great numbers of the inhabitants into flavery. The multiplicity of the works going forward at this time. requiring another engineer, I left my other affiftant. lieutenant Brackley, here; and having given some farther directions about the plan of the place to lieutenant colonel Brunie, who was chief engineer, I laid in plenty of provisions in the galley, which was brought up to the town, to ferve us on our way to Astrachan. I waited on general Waterang to receive his commands, and take my leave of him. and having likewife done fo of all the rest of my acquaintances, we dropped down the river Sulack to the fea.

On the 16th, we coasted along shore, in fine deep water, Gulf of and reached, on the 17th, the extremity of the peninfula, island of which forms the gulf of Agrechan, and came to an an-Trenzeni, and city of chor in the evening, between this point of high land and Terki. the island of Trentzeni, opposite to the city of Terki in Circassia, in six fathom water. This gulf is forty five English miles from north to fouth, and twenty from east to west.

The island of Trenzeni is the largest in the Caspian sea, and notwithstanding its fine harbour, there are no inhabitants upon it; nor indeed are any of the other islands inhabited, excepting that there are a few fishermen's huts to

Tt2 be east; they are in general stocked with cattle, sheep, and goats.

And now as all the coast from hence to Astrachan had been founded on our former expedition, I judged it needless to coast it again, so that we took our departure, from Trentzeni on the 18th, and steering our course north for Astrachan, we arrived at the mouth of the river Wolga on the 24th of September, having been gone five months and six days on the service: the distance from Trenzeni to this place is one hundred and ninety English miles.

General defeription of the Caspian sea.

The Caspian sea, in its utmost length from Jaick, which is its northern extremity, and lies in 46 deg. 15 min. north latitude, to Aftrabat, which is its fouthern extremity, and lies in 36 deg. 50 min. is 9 deg. 25 min. which makes fix hundred and forty-fix English miles, at fixty-nine miles to a degree. The breadth of the Caspian is various; its greatest breadth to the northward, from east to west, is between the gulf of Yembo and the mouth of the river Wolga, and is two hundred and fixty-five English miles; the broadest part to the fouthward is from the river Orxantes, on the east fide; to the river Linkeran on the west, and is two hundred and thirty-five English miles. Its whole circumference, including gulfs and bays, is three thousand five hundred and twenty-five wersts. The coast of the Caspian, from the point of land forming one fide of the gulf of Agrechan, on the west, to the river Kulala in Turkumania, opposite to it on the east, all round by the north, is low, flat, and marshy, overgrown with reed, and the water shallow; the direct distance, from that gulf to Kulala, is one hundred and feventy English miles; on all the rest of the coast from

Kulala

Kulala, by the fouth, and back to the gulf of Agrechan, BOOK IX. the country is mountainous, with a bold shore and deep water, as has generally been taken notice of in the course of the survey.

Near the mouth of the Wolga, on the isle of Ivan,) or Watch tower John's island,) stands a tower, where a guard is constantly island. kept, who must observe every day whether any increase or decrease happens in the waters of the sea, but they have not vet been able to discover the smallest difference; from which circumstance it is certain that there is neither flux or reflux in the Caspian; and what makes it the more surprising, is that in the fpring, when all the ice and fnow melts, and pours down from the mountains, and all the large rivers and innumerable leffer ones are swelled to such a degree that they overflow all their banks, and which all fall into this fea like a deluge, yet nevertheless it even at those times is not in the least raised by it, so that it remains a great mystery what becomes of all the water that perpetually falls into it from the clouds and rivers. The water is as falt as that of the ocean, except near the mouths of the rivers, where it is brackish by the mixture of so much fresh water from them.

I must acknowlege this was the most pleasant jaunt I ever had in my whole life: we had always plenty of provisions on board, besides taking and killing such abundance of fish and wild sowl of various kinds, that we could scarce make use of them all; and during the whole voyage, notwithstanding the violent heat, we had only seven men sick. I should have found it still more agreeable could we have conversed with the Turkumanian and Usbeck Tartars, which would have enabled me to give some account of them;

but.

book IX. but the Tartars in general, although they have no fixed habitations, are very jealous of admitting any strangers into their country.

On the 25th of September, we got up to Astrachan, where I waited on General Matuskin with a report of my proceeding, and presented him with a draught of the Caspian sea, and gave another to governor Wolinski, who had formerly been ambassador to China, and who was afterwards sent ambassador to Persia; on both which occasions he defired I might be permitted to go with him, but it was refused, although I earnestly petitioned for leave. On his return from his last embassy, he was married to the princes Nareskin, the emperor's first cousin, being the daughter of his mother's brother, and was at the same time made governor-general over the kingdom of Astrachan.

General Matufkin's marriage to the widow in tears. General Matuskin, after the taking of Baku, was promoted to the rank of lieutenant-general, and was at the same time major of the first regiment of guards, and in great esteem with his majesty. He was an old bachelor when he married a beautiful buxom young widow, whose first husband, major general Glebof of the dragoons, had been concerned in the late troubles with the czarowitz, for which he was condemned, but died in prison, and his estate being confiscated, the widow was reduced to very low circumstances. General Matuskin, who was appointed judge on that trial, was solicited by the mournful widow, who implored him on her knees, bathed in tears, to commiserate her unmerited sufferings, being now reduced to the utmost misery and want. In this supplicating posture, she so captivated the old bachelor, that he directly made her

an offer of himfelf, and all he had for her relief, which BOOK XI. the widow joyfully accepted, on which the general applied to the empress to procure his majesty's consent. When the affair was mentioned to the emperor, he was much difpleased at the general's seeking to match himself with the widow of a rebel, offering him at the same time any other lady he should pitch upon; but the general told him that it was impossible for him to love any other woman, and humbly befeeched his majesty to grant his request, otherwise he would lofe one of his most faithful servants: being seconded by the empress in his application, his majesty became at last curious to see this widow, who had made such an impression on the heart of the old spark; and when she was introduced to the emperor, he declared he was not at all furprised at the conquest she had made, and not only gave his confent, but honoured their marriage with his presence, attended by the whole court. The lady ever afterwards went by the name of the Widow in Tears.

There happened at this time, a great confusion among Contest the Kalmuck Tartars, occasioned by the death of the cham's among the Kalmucks, eldest fon, who left five sons; the eldest of whom, with and expeditwo others, were born of a concubine, and the two young- them. est of the best beloved wife: the eldest, whose name was Dasan, claimed the right of succession, in consequence of his feniority, which was a good title, notwithstanding his mother was a concubine; the two youngest, born of the wife, and whose names were Dunduambu and Batu, claimed in right of the marriage, and were favoured by the old cham, their grandfather, and by his fecond fon, Shurundunduck, their uncle, who threatened prince Dasan with deftruction to himself and his hord, or clan, which con-

fifted

BOOK XI. sisted of seven thousand men, if he offered to dispute the fuccession with prince Dunduambu. They were at that time prevented by the old cham, but he dying, prince Shurundunduck told his nephew, Dafan, that he was determined Dunduambu should succeed his grandfather in the fovereignty, and if he would not fubmit peaceably, he should be compelled to do it. But finding their threats had no effect upon the prince, they began to assemble an army of twenty thousand men, which obliged prince Dasan, with his two brothers, and his whole hord, to retire near to Astrachan, and he with his brothers came into the city, begging to be protected against the usurpation of his younger brother, offering at the same time to submit his claim to the decision of his imperial majesty. Upon this the general and governor held a council, with the principal officers of both the army and garrison, in which it was resolved to fend fome troops for their protection; the governor intending to go himself to reconcile the contending parties, if possible.

This being the resolution of the council, governor Wolinski desired me to go with him on this expedition, to which I answered that it was not my turn, but if he would procure an order from the general for my going, I would certainly go with great chearfulness; and accordingly, on the 20th of October, I received an order to embark with four hundred men of our two battalions, one hundred dragoons, and four field-pieces, to proceed up the river to the place appointed for the rendezvous by prince Dafan; the governor propofing to follow immediately with fome more troops, fent me before to fatisfy the impatience of the prince.

On the 22th, we arrived at the defert of Beriket, fixty BOOK IX. wersts above Astrachan, where we pitched our tents, but it being intenfely cold, Dasan provided us with fixty kib- Description bets, which is the name of their tents, which are both of their kibwarm and large, having a fire in the middle, and a hole at the top to let out the fmoke; they are twenty-four feet diameter, and capable of being enlarged or contracted at pleasure; they are all round, the sides being made of a kind of checkered wicker-work, and the cross sticks neatly jointed for folding together or extending: when they erect a kibbet, they join as many of them together as will make a circle, of the dimension they choose, and having fixed the outside, which is fix feet high, they raise with their lances a round board, three feet diameter, with a hole in the middle of it, and fmall holes all round the edge; the large hole ferves for their chimney, the small holes receive the ends of so many strait rafters, and the other ends being fixed to the fides, the roof is formed, which is both ingenious and pretty: having thus erected the frame of the kibbet, they cover it over with thick felt, more or less according as the feafon is cold or warm, beginning at the bottom and proceeding to the top, where they place a krine, which they can turn at pleasure against the wind, to prevent smoke. The kibbet is furprifingly warm, and withstands wind and rain better than a house, and they are erected with greater ease in and less time than we could set up an officer's tent. Prince Dafan, with his hord, was encamped at two wersts distance from us, and sent us several cattle and sheep for provisions to our party: he fent also a jar of spirits U u diffilled

On the 23d, we were reinforced by a detachment of

BOOK IX distilled from mares milk, for the officers, which was as - clear as water but strong, and of an agreeable flavour.

two hundred men from our battalions, and three hundred and fifty Cossacks, which made us now a body of one thoufand and fifty strong. By this opportunity I received a letter from the governor, telling me that he would join us himself in two or three days, but not a word of orders how we were to act, in case any exigence should require it; being the senior officer I took the command of the whole till the governor should arrive. On the arrival of this reinforcement, prince Dafan fent more cattle for their provision, and a sufficient number of kibbets for their accommodation. This evening we received intelligence that Shurundunduck, and his nephew, Dunduambu, were encamped with an army of twenty thousand strong, opposite to Zornayar, which being upwards of one hundred and fifty wersts from A battle with us, made us conjecture it would take some time before they could come up with us; but we foon found our mistake, for we were alarmed very early in the morning of the 24th by the breaking up of prince Dafan's camp, and feeing his people coming towards us in the utmost confusion. On this I drew up our men in all haste, and ordered the dragoons and Coffacks to mount and go to prince Dafan's affiftance: we foon faw Shurundunduck's army advancing, which obliged Dafan and his people to take refuge in our rear, whom I persuaded to dismount such of his horsemen as had firearms, and to bring as many of his men as had bows and arrows, to fight on foot as we did, and I fent some officers and

the Kalmucks.

and ferjeants to draw them up in order: with these we BOOK IX. formed a fquare towards the river, and fecured their baggage and cattle in our rear. The enemy being advanced in the form of a crefcent, and within gun-shot of us, made a halt to confult the mode of their attack. Dasan was in the utmost perplexity, and begged me to keep them at a distance with our great guns and fire-arms, affuring me if we did not, they would rush in upon us with a very sudden and furious attack, and throw us all into confusion.

On this emergency, I was very much at loss how to act, having no orders, and advised with the rest of the officers: when it was agreed to fend an interpreter with a drum, to inform them of his majesty's troops being there for the protection of prince Dafan, who had entirely submitted the decision of his claim to his imperial majesty, and that it was expected they would do the fame, being equally fubject to the emperor; and as the governor of Astrachan was hourly expected, who might fall upon ways and means to reconcile their differences, they ought to wait his arri-The messenger was fent, and brought back an answer: -That they knew very well Dafan had procured Russian troops to protect him from their just resentment; but as they were a free nation, they would do themselves justice, without submitting to the arbitration of any person whatever, and that they were determined to attack their brethren at all hazards, notwithstanding our troops, and if we interposed in their behalf, and should meet with any disafter, the blame would lay at our own doors.

Having returned this answer they began to advance in a semicircle, intending to surround us, on which I ordered the

U u 2

field-

grape-shot: all this time they avoided coming near our troops, but bent their whole force against their own countrymen, which obliged me to form a front against them, both to the right and lest, and then began to play on them with grape-shot and small-arms, which made great havock amongst them, and their horses not being used to the thundering noise of fire-arms, became unmanageable, and threw their whole body into the utmost confusion; on which our dragoons and Cossacks, seconded by prince Dasan's men; attacked them with such vigour, that they soon gave way on all sides and fled, while we plied them with the field-pieces.

as long as they were within reach:

We had two dragoons killed in this action, and feven wounded, and five Coffacks killed and feventeen wounded; five of our foldiers were wounded with barbed arrows; but of Dafan's men, there were three hundred and feventy-four killed, and upwards of five hundred wounded. Our dragoons and Coffacks returned from the pursuit with fixtythree prisoners, and Dasan's men took some hundreds; we could not ascertain the loss of the enemy in this short action, but it must have been very considerable. evening, when all was over, governor Wolinski arrived, and I acquainted him of the transactions of the day: he was much pleased with the message that had been sent to Dunduambu and Shurundunduck, and especially that we were: not the aggressors in the action, nor had fired upon them. till we were actually attacked. He faid he would have comecome up fooner, but he did not imagine they would have made an attempt in defiance of our troops, but fince they

had:

had done so, he would now consider them as rebels, and BOOK IX. make an example of them as fuch. He then gave orders to hang all the prisoners, (who amounted to some hundreds), and Dafan's men executed the orders with great fatisfaction. Among the prisoners was Dunduambu's greatest favourite and principal counsellor, whom Dasan put to the most cruel torture imaginable, and he had no fooner expired under the torment, than they divided his body in four, and stuck up the quarters on fo many posts, and his head on another.

The governor, judging from what had happened, that a reconciliation would now be impracticable, advised prince Dafan, with his two brothers, to retire with their people under the cannon of Krasnayar, where they would be safe from any attempt of their enemies, as it was impossible that our troops could remain any longer in the field in that advanced cold feason, there being at this time a great fall of fnow, which they immediately agreed to. We broke up our camp on the 25th, but we had scarce marched five wersts, when the enemy made their appearance in the same manner they had done the day before, and fent a messenger. to the governor, to let him know they were fensible he intended to carry their enemy out of their reach, which they were refolved to prevent, let the consequence be what it would; nevertheless, if the governor could prevail on Dafan to agree to a partition of the fovereignty with Dunduambu, on reasonable terms, they were willing to hold a conference with him on that head. It was directly agreed that five chief men from each party should meet in the middle space between the two armies, where they conferred. together above three hours, without being able to come to

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back twenty-five prisoners, who assured us, that Shurun-dunduck was retired towards Zornayar; on which the governor set out for Astrachan, leaving orders with me to see prince Dasan, and his Kalmucks, all over the river, and safe under the cannon of Krasnayar, where I arrived the 30th: but the prince sinding his cattle could not subsist in so narrow a district, divided the hord, and distributed them among the numerous islands formed by the several branches of the Wolga, where they were to remain in full security till his majesty's pleasure was known. I set out on the 3d of November, having prince Dasan, and his two brothers, under my convoy, and arrived at Astrachan that evening,

party. The enemy having observed that Dasan's party, during the conference, were transporting their wives, children, and cattle over a branch of the Wolga, now set upon Dasan's men with a most furious attack, and numbers were slain on each side before we could come up to prevent it, as the enemy still avoided coming near as much as possible; but upon our horse engaging them, and our firing with our cannon and small arms briskly upon them, they retired quite out of sight. Our dragoons returning from the pursuit, brought

Some odd cultoms a-

where we found every necessary accommodation provided for their reception.

On this expedition I observed some peculiar customs among the Kalmucks, which I cannot omit mentioning. As I attended the governor into Dasan's tent, we found the prince and his two brothers, with their principal men, seated in a circle round the fire, having a large iron pipe, filled with tobacco, which they handed about from one to another,

each

each taking one pull, filled his mouth as full of smoke as it BOOK IX. would hold, and keeping the fmoke a confiderable time in their mouths, they at length blew it out at their nostrils: immediately after this they all parted without speaking one word: this we understood to be the conclusion of a confultation among them.

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As they are great lovers of horse-slesh, which they prefer to every other kind, and observing we were no admirers of it, prince Dafan entertained us with the flesh of a sucking-foal, both roafted and boiled, and I must confess I never eat any thing more delicious. In mentioning this Tartar nation before, I faid they past the winter in the defert of Astrachan; but I was now informed that the greatest part of them live in the defert of Beriket, towards the rivers Jaik and Yembo, bordering on the Turkumanians.

The fmall-pox is as much dreaded among the Kalmucks as the pestilence amongst us: when any of them are seized with it, they immediately break up their camp and fly, leaving the fick person in one of their worst kibbets with a killed sheep, part of which is roasted and part raw, and a jar of water and some wood for fire; if they recover they follow the hord, which feldom happens, for they almost all die for want of attendance.

They live but four months at most in the deferts, and they inhabit a most pleasant country all the rest of the year; their way of life exactly resembles that of the old patriarchs, their whole occupation consisting in the care of their flocks and herds, fishing, and hunting. When they go upon an expedition, every one takes a sheep with him for his provision, and three horses which he rides alternately;

BOOK IX. and when any of them fail, they kill it and divide the flesh, putting pieces of it under their faddles, and after riding fome time upon it, they eat it without any farther preparation; this, in their estimation, is the best way of dressing it; they generally return from their excursions with only one horse, having eat all the rest.

Baranetz or lamb-fkin.

I had both heard and read of an herb that grew about Aftrachan, called baranetz, or lamb-skin, which was alledged to grow upon a fingle stalk in the shape of a lamb, and which when ripe was covered over with hair, or wool, and that it confumed all the grass that grew near it, and that when taken off, it served for fine fur for caps, or lining cloaths; but as there is no fuch herb, I was at a loss to conceive how fuch a miftake could arife: however, on enquiry, I was informed, that the baranetzs, or lambs, are cut out of the sheep's bellies, a little before their lambing-time, their skins being then in their greatest beauty, with the hair lying in fhort, fmooth, pretty curls, and of different colours, as dark and light greys, black and white; the dark grey are the most valuable, and are fold as high as ten shillings sterling a piece, and the black at five; the light grey and white at half a crown. This branch of trade is very profitable to the Nagayan Tartars, as the Indians, Persians, and Ruffians, buy all they can produce. I bought by commiffion for count Bruce and general Le Fort, of the best kind, to the value of two hundred rubles.

Returns for Molcow up the Wolga.

I had orders from general Matuskin to go as soon as posfible to Moscow, to deliver my report of the Caspian sea to the emperor; but as there is no possibility of travelling by land to Saratof, I was obliged to wait till the river Wolga was frozen. On the 8th of January, I fet out from Aftra-BOOK IX chan in fledges on the ice, in company with feveral others. for Moscow, making in the whole a party of twenty men. all well provided with arms; but as it rained very hard, we went but ten wersts to Saliterdwor. The rain continuing the two following days, the ice became fo weak, that fome of the horses fell in several times, and it was with much difficulty we faved them from being drowned; fo that we could only travel eighty wersts in the two days, and were obliged to lodge both nights on the ice, in the middle of the river, as there was no possibility of getting ashore for the water.

On the 11th, it being frost, we went fifty wersts, but one of our horses dropt through and was drowned: this night, however, we rested in safety on shore. The next day proved rainy, and we could only go forty werfts, but past this night also on shore. On the 13th, although it was frosty, the ice was so much rent in feveral places, that it was with much difficulty we could get the horses over the openings; one of them broke his leg, which obliged us to shoot him; and after travelling forty wersts, we were forced to stay all night on the ice. The next day it rained, and the ice became fo full of rents, that we were often put to hard shifts to extricate ourselves: two of our sledges and horses fell in, which we saved with great difficulty. At noon we went on shore to refresh the horses, and went to a fisher's hut at a small distance to get some fish: in this interval a party of fifty Kalmuck Tartars, all in armour, furrounded our fledges, where we had left all our fire-arms excepting three; with those we had, cocked in our hands, we ran in haste to the sledges, and secured the rest of our

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arms.

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BOOK IX. arms, the Tartars looking at us with furprize. Their myrzain or commander, came up to me and offered me his hand. faving, in broken Russian, that he knew me fince the action with Shurundunduck: we gave him a dram, and he went away with his party. They are not to be trusted, for the Tartars will rob where they can do it with fafety; this accident determined us to be no more without our arms on our journey. We travelled this day forty wersts, but would not venture on shore all night for fear of the Kalmucks, who were encamped thereabouts. On the 15th, we reached Zornavar, forty wersts, where we rested on the 16th; and as our horses had now brought us three hundred wersts. without relief, no other horses being to be had all the way, the men taking provisions and forage with them to ferve them on the road, their hay being all twifted for the easier conveyance, we returned them for Astrachana with a certificate to the governor, at the defire of our conductors, of the loss of two of the horses, as they belonged to government.

> On the 17th, being provided with fresh horses, and having procured ropes to pull out the horses and sledges incafe-they should break through the ice again; the day proving rainy, feveral of our horses fell in, but were saved; having a rope fastened to each of them; and at night we reached Stupingar, fixty wersts, and the next day, notwithstanding it was hard frost, several of our horses fell in: we travelled seventy werfts, and rested the night on shore. On the 10th, we went feventy wersts, and at night reached Czaritza, where our two battalions wintered last year. we got fresh horses, and next day got to Duboska, fixty wersts,

in rainy weather: here we were again supplied with fresh BOOK IX. horses, and reached Belekli, seventy wersts. On the 21st, we found the ice so much weakened by the rainy weather, that we were in continual danger. We got to Kamufinka. feventy wersts, on the 22d; and here getting fresh horses. we could only travel eighty wersts the two following days under such constant rain, that the water was now a foot deep over the ice, so that we past the dangerous rents with the utmost difficulty, and for the night of the 24th, we took up our quarters on a woody island, making a large fire to dry ourselves.

On the 25th in the morning, we had got but a short way A narrow from the island, before we found the ice so full of large escape from the ice. rents, that it was impossible for us to proceed farther upon it, and in endeavouring to make the shore, seven of our fledges fell in through the ice, and five of our horses were drowned: the rest we saved with extreme danger to ourfelves, as the ice was continually yielding and breaking under us, till at last after every effort with poles and ropes, we got all fafe to the land; but our fledges and baggage lay fix hours in the water, and must have been lost but for the lucky affiftance of a party of men who were paffing this way, by whose help we got them pulled out, and in about half an hour afterwards, the river broke up with a thundering noise, and nothing but water was to be seen; so that we had a very narrow and miraculous escape. fortunately were near a wood, where we made large fires to warm and dry ourselves, being near perished with wet and cold; and what augmented our mifery was the perpetual rains pouring day and night down upon us. Such a rainy fea-

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Wolga, had not been known in the memory of man. By the overturning of my fledge, I lost a whole suit of Tartarian armour, a blunderbuss, a pair of brass barrelled pistols, a silver-hilted sword, a little trunk in which was my pass, and an order to supply us with horses on our way, and some money for my travelling charges.

The three following days, we dragged our fledges with much toil over the fands, and having travelled two hundred and twenty werfts, we reached Saratof on the evening of the 28th: this place is one thousand wersts up the Wolga, from We staid here four days to dry our baggage, which had all been most thoroughly wet; I got my baranetz, or lambikins, fo carefully dried and dreffed, that they looked as well as ever. The governor gave me another pass, and an order for horses, in place of that I had lost; and as this is the first place from which we could travel by land, we left the river Wolga, and proceeded across the country on a hard beaten road of fnow, being now quite in another climate, where winter appeared in its full rigour. The governor informed us that the roads were peftered with robbers, on account of the very bad crops last summer, and advised us to be on our guard.

A cruel robbery in the woods.

We left Saratof on the 2d of February, and travelling fixty wersts, arrived in the evening at a single house in a wood; and next day, after a journey of sixty-three wersts, through one continued wood, we came again to a single house, but when we were within three wersts of it, we saw several sledges before us attacked by robbers, and carried off; we made all the haste we could to go to their assistance, and

before

before we got up, the robbers had made off into the wood, BOOK IX. with the horses and sledges loaded with merchandize: we found nine men flripped naked, and three foldiers who had been their efcort, killed befide them. We took both the living and the dead with us to this house, where we found only a boy, and enquiring of him for the people of the house, he said they were gone to a fair fixty wersts off, and were not to come home that night. As we conceived ourselves to be in a very dangerous place, we barricaded the court-yard belonging to the house, and kept a very strict watch, placing a centry at each corner; having our firearms in readiness, we kept ourselves very quiet. One of our company whose appointment it was to watch the motions of the boy, observed him at three o'clock in the morning, go to the back door and open it, but being close behind him, found the boy talking to a man without, in a very low voice; two others of our company getting behind him, pulled the fellow into the house, and fastened the door: the stripped travellers no sooner saw him, than they unanimoufly agreed that this fellow was one of the gang who had robbed them; upon this we tied him neck and heels, and upon our looking out at the back door, we discovered a number of men at a small distance, upon the snow, waiting as we imagined, for intelligence, but on our firing a few fhot among them, they retired into the wood. We then proceeded to examine the fellow we had taken, who faid he was the landlord of the house, and was well known to be an honest man, and had no connection with thieves or robbers, and threatened that he would make us repent the injury we had done him in his own house; but as all those

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who

BOOK IX. who had been robbed averred that he was the chief of the gang, and had himself killed one of the soldiers, we deter-1724mined to carry him and all that were in the house, with us; and accordingly fet out.

> On the 4th, travelling fixty-four wersts, we came to Pense, a fortified town, with a ftrong garrison, where we delivered up our prisoner to the governor, and the plundered merchants, on their examination, declared that he was actually the ringleader of the gang; upon which the governor ordered him to be put to the torture, to make him confess where the rest of his companions were to be found; but he was so obstinate, that he would not answer any of the questions that were put to him. On which two of the robbed merchants proposed to go in fearch of them, if the governor would fend a sufficient force to take them, if found, alledging they might be eafily traced by the track they had made through the fnow, in going into the wood: the governor readily confented, and ordered fifty dragoons, and as many Cossacks, to mount and attend them. The next day in the evening, they returned with twenty-three robbers, and the fledges and horses belonging to the merchants; they were found in hutts in a thicket of the wood, not above three miles from the before mentioned house. This wood runs east and west several hundred wersts in length, and its narrowest breadth, where we crossed, is one hundred and fixty wersts, without any inhabitants.

A remarkable

I was here informed by the governor, that about fix ancovery of a months ago, a large village, or town, had been discovered account of it. by its own inhabitants, who fent a deputation to the emperor for that purpose. This town lies two hundred miles west

from

from Pense, and at the same distance from any other inha-BOOK IX. bited place; it is fituated on the fide of a lake in the middle of this great wood, and confifts of above two thousand families; they gave the following account of themselves.-In the very troublesome times, after the death of czar Iwan Wasilewitz, the tyrant, to the reign of czar Michael Feodorewitz, (his prefent majesty's grandfather), a great number of robbers had affociated themselves and committed. great ravages over all the country; their leader, or commander in chief, was a degraded colonel, and an experienced officer; their depredations were so audacious, that czar Michael Feodorewitz found it necessary to send large detachments of the military against them, but the robberscommonly attacked these parties by surprize and defeated them. The czar on this offered a very high reward for the heads of their leaders, and a free pardon to all the rest. The chiefs being apprehensive that they should one day or other be betrayed by their followers, came to a refolution to make a general plunder, once for all; which they did, and carried off large quantities of corn, horses, cattle, all forts of labouring utenfils, and all the women they could meet with, and retired into those inaccessible woods, where they fettled, cleared, and manured the ground, and lived ever fince; governed by their own laws, without ever after molefting, or having the smallest intercourse with any of their remote neighbours.

I was also informed, that a wild girl, about eighteen years. of age, had been lately taken in the neighbourhood of this town. A woman who lived here, alledged, she was her child, faying, that about eighteen years ago she was going, through 1734.

big with child she was seized with her labour-pains, and was delivered; and as she was then in extreme agony, she did not perceive by what means her child was conveyed from her; but hearing the common report that a wild girl was frequently seen in the wood, she always said it could be no other than the child she had lost.

Many attempts had been made to catch her, but to no purpose, she being so nimble-footed that none could overtake her. When the emperor heard of it, he fent orders to the governor to raise the people of the country, and furround that part of the wood where she had been obferved to frequent, and fet up their nets with which they used to catch the deer, and in this manner she was taken without receiving any hurt; the girl was immediately fent to Moscow, under the care of her supposed mother, where I afterwards faw her. She was of a fwarthy complexion, and I was told she was much overgrown with hair; she was very shy of being seen, and always sitting in a dark corner, trembling with fear when any body approached her. It was generally supposed she had been suckled by a bear, but how the subsisted all the time afterwards must remain a secret till she learns to speak and gives the account herself.

On the 7th of February, having obtained an escort of twenty Cossacks to conduct me to Saranski, ninety wersts, and my travelling companions intending to continue here some time, I lest Pense, travelling all the way through one continued wood, which made it very dangerous on account of the many robberies and murders committed on the road, and arrived at Saranski on the evening of the 8th, without

any molestation. All the way, however, we went, we met BOOK IX. many real objects of compassion, wearing the visible marks of hunger and famine in their countenances, occasioned by the failure of the last year's crop, which drove many to feek relief by plunder. After this I travelled through a well inhabited country, without the least danger, and came to Arfama, one hundred and twenty werfts; from thence to Murvin, one hundred and twenty; and from thence to Wolodimer, one hundred and twenty more; and from Wolodimer, one hundred and eighty wersts, to the city of Moscow, where I arrived on the 22d of February. From Arrival at Saratof to Moscow it is eight hundred and fifty-fix wersts by land; but following the course of the river, it is one thousand seven hundred and eighty.

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At this time great preparations were making for the empress's coronation, at which ceremony all the great men and grandees of the empire had been fummoned to appear. General Matuskin, and governor Wolinski, with the two battalions of guards I left at Astrachan, were ordered to repair to Moscow with the utmost expedition, and arrived five weeks after me; which, if I had known, would have faved me a very troublesome journey besides a great expence.

The day after my arrival in Moscow, I waited on prince Menzikof, who ordered me to attend him to his majesty, and after waiting a quarter of an hour in the antichamber I was called in, and found there, his majesty, attended by the duke of Holstein, admiral Apraxin, chancellor Golofkin, and the princes Galitzin, Dolgoruki and Romadonofski. The emperor examined the chart of the Caspian sea,

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with

me a great many questions, especially concerning the river

Daria, of which I presented him with a draft at large, with which he seemed very much pleased, as the drawing exhibited the situation of that river, which appeared to be well calculated for a fort and safe harbour, secure from any attempts that could be made by the Usbeck Tartars. His majesty then gave the duke of Holstein a short account of prince Bekewitz's unfortunate expedition to that place; adding, that if he had had patience till he had been well fortisted and settled, and not suffered himself to be over-reached by the treacherous infinuations of the Tartars, by this time he might have been fully master of that valuable river, with

all the gold mines; but as he was now in full possession of the provinces on the opposite side of the Caspian sea, he still intended to settle a colony at that place, and to erect forts along the banks of that river, toward the mines, for their protection; and the forts could be easily supplied with pro-

visions from the neighbouring provinces, without having any dependence on the Usbeck Tartars for them. From all this discourse, I apprehended I should be again sent to

those parts very much against my inclination. After I had given an account in what forwardness the fortifications of Swetego-Krest, on the river Sulack were, and of our expe-

dition against the Kalmuck Tartars, I was dismissed, being ordered by prince Menzikof to attend the duke of Holstein's

levee while he remained in Moscow.

## 0 0 K X.

The duke of Holstein .- The fall of baron Shafirof .- The captain endeavours to get his discharge. - A dignified troop of chevaliers. - A description of the cathedral .- Procession to the coronation of the empress .- Coronation ceremony .- Procession to the church of St. Michael .- Procession to the church of the Refurrection .- Dinner in the hall of folemnities .- New mode of promotion. - The captain obtains his furlough. - The captain leaves Moscozv. - A Swedish colonel at Riga suspected of having shot Charles the XIIth of Sweden.—The captain embarks for Scotland.—Puts into Erdholm, a Danish harbour and fort .- Description of the harbour .- Departs for Ellingohr .- Driven into Marstrand dismasted .- Quarrel between Carnegie and his mate. - He arrives in Scotland.

IS royal highness Charles duke of Holstein, was the BOOK X. only fon of the eldest fister of Charles the XIIth, king of Sweden, whom that monarch intended for his fuc- The duke of ceffor; he was now betrothed to the princess Anne, the Holstein. emperor's eldest daughter; his highness was in the 25th year of his age, of the middling fize, well proportioned; his lips were thick, and his tongue large, which occasioned a defect in his speech; in attending, when very young, his uncle, the king of Sweden, a winter's campaign in Poland, where the cold was very intense, and seeing the king endure it with fo much indifference, the prince was ashamed to complain, till at last his toes were so severely frost-bitten. that they began to mortify, and he was obliged to have some of them cut off; the prince was very affable, and of a chearful disposition, fond of all kinds of diversions. He was now lodged in the Inoisemska Slaboda, (or quarter of foreign-

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ers),

amusement; he was much pleased with the English country-dances, and as I was pretty well acquainted with them, I was always next to his highness at those entertainments.

I had the good fortune to be so much in his favour, that he asked if I wished to enter into his service. I replied, that I would accept the honor with great pleasure if I could obtain my discharge from the emperor's: his highness said he would speak to prince Menzikos about it, which he did next day, and the prince told him that his majesty would grant it at his desire, notwithstanding his intention to send me on an expedition over the Caspian sea, to fortify and secure the harbour at the mouth of the river Daria; which information put a stop to all my hopes. This disappointment made me resolve to get out of this state of slavery at any rate, from which it was impossible for any one that was serviceable to extricate himself with honour.

The fall of baron Shafirof. On my return to Moscow, I had the mortification to hear the disagreeable account of the fall and disgrace of my former benefactor, baron Shafirof, the vice-chancellor, in whose suite I was a year at Constantinople, where he was an hostage, and afterwards ambassador; he was without dispute one of the ablest ministers in the whole empire, very high in the esteem of the emperor, who always employed him in negotiations of the greatest importance. The baron's misfortune was occasioned by his endeavouring the ruin of prince Menzikof, which at last ended in his own. When his majesty set out on his expedition to Persia, he appointed prince Menzikof regent of the empire in his absence: by the assistance of baron Osterman, the prince discovered that

the vice-chancellor had embezzled large fums out of the BOOK x.

public revenue, and that he had concealed two hundred thousand ducats in specie, besides jewels to the value of feventy thousand ducats, the property of the late Knez Gagarin, whose daughter was married to baron Shafirof's fon. When prince Gagarin was executed, it was made death to any person who should conceal his effects, and the baron himself published the decree; the baron also stood charged with feveral other crimes, for all which he was condemned to be beheaded, and was fo near fuffering the fentence, that his neck was on the block, when the fentence was mitigated to perpetual banishment into Siberia. Osterman succeeded the baron in the office of vice-chancellor; baron Shafirof had raifed him from a low degree, and was afterwards rewarded with ingratitude; he was by birth a German, from a fmall town belonging to the duke of Mecklenburgh, of mean parents, and the baron passing through that country, engaged him as a fervant; in this fervice he fo ingratiated himself with his master, that he raised him by degrees to the office of fecretary in chancery, and as fuch he was fent as fecretary to count Bruce to the congress at Aland; where he conducted himself with such address, that he was appointed the count's colleague, in which fituation he be-

haved with much haughtiness: yet, after betraying his master and benefactor, he succeeded him as vice-chancellor, and after the death of count Goloskin, he was promoted to the office of high-chancellor: but when the empress Elizabeth ascended the throne of Russia, Osterman was banished to Siberia, there to bewail his former ingratitude, meeting with

the reward due to all ungrateful persons.

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BOOK X

get his difcharge.

In the beginning of March, I presented a petition to the college of war, in which I represented my services for thir-The captain teen years in their army; that the fituation of my own priendeavours to vate affairs in Scotland, where I had not been for twenty years, now required my personal presence to regulate them; and defired my discharge from this service for that purpose. Prince Menzikof and the other generals feemed furprised at my request, telling me that his majesty had fignified his pleasure to give me one of the regiments that were then under the command of general Waterang, at Swetego-Krest on the river Sulack; from this I faw plainly that it was determined to fend me once more over the Caspian to the river Daria, to lead a fad life among the Usbeck Tartars: I told them it was impossible for me then to accept the honour his majesty meant to bestow on me, as the situation of my affairs would not fuffer me to remain longer in their fervice; and the board then absolutely refused to grant my discharge. I now urged to them the privilege promifed by his majesty to all foreigners, that they were not to be detained in the fervice against their own inclination; to this they replied, that they did not look on me as a foreigner, but as one of themselves; to this compliment I only answered by a low bow, and retired.

As I had received a promise from his majesty before we fet out on this expedition into Persia, that upon our return he would give me leave to go and fee my friends, I now laid my case before the duke of Holstein, who advised me to present a memorial to the emperor the, next day, at eleven o'clock, when he would be with him; which I accordingly did, and had for answer, that my difcharge could not be granted, but that I should get a fur-

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lough for one year, to go and fee my friends, and fettle my BOOK x. affairs; at the expiration of which it was expected I should return. Upon my accepting these conditions, I received his majesty's order to prince Menzikof, to grant me a furlough: upon my producing the order to the war office. they demanded that count Bruce and general Le Fort should become furcties for my return, which I refused, telling them that the furlough his majesty had granted me was sufficient, which I infifted upon; on this the office forced me to give an obligation under my hand, to return at the end of the year, which they conceived in the strongest terms they could express, and gave me the alternative, to fign it. or remain where I was: the matter being fo far fettled, they told me that as foon as the empress's coronation was over I should receive my dispatches.

The city of Moscow was now vastly crowded with foreigners as well as natives, where all people of rank, belonging to this great empire, were obliged to attend, every one endeavouring to out-do another in grand equipages, fo that nothing now was minded but affemblies, balls, mafquerades, and grand entertainments, fuch as had never before been known in this part of the world. Yet every body was much furprifed that neither the grand duke, nor his fifter the grand-duchefs, the children of the late czarowitz, were to be present at this solemnity, but were left unnoticed at Petersburgh.

To aggrandize the coronation, a troop of chevaliers, or A'dignified horse-guards, were raised, mounted on fine horses; lieute-valiers. nant-general Iagufinski commanded them as captain; majorgeneral Mamonof, as lieutenant; brigadier-general Le-

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wentof,

BOOK x. wentof, was cornet; the quartermasters were colonels, the corporals lieutenant-colonels, and the fixty troopers were all captains. Their coats were green cloth, the waiftcoats 1724. fearlet richly laced with gold; on their breafts and backs the emperor's arms in embroidery; their cartouch cases were of crimfon velvet, with cyphers embroidered in gold; their grenade pouches and belts of crimfon velvet and gold; their fword hilts gilt, and white cockades in their hats; their holfters and piftol-cases ornamented with cyphers in gold, laced and fringed with the fame; the bitts of the bridles, breast and crupper-leathers, were covered with massive gold, and their kettle drums and trumpets were filver, with

Description of

The cathedral in which the ceremony of coronation was to the cathedral. be performed, was richly adorned and illuminated with a number of branches in form of crowns, and a very large one in the middle of fine filver of exquisite workmanship; they were all full of wax candles gilt. The steps to the altar, and the pavement of the church to the throne, were covered with rich tapestry wrought with gold; in the middle of the church was a canopy of crimson velvet, adorned with the arms of Russia, viz. an eagle, sable, with an escutcheon on its breaft, of St. George killing the dragon, and all round it was the ribbon of the order of St. Andrew, and on the two sides were the arms of the kingdoms of Casan, Astrachan, Siberia, &c. the canopy was embroidered with gold raifed-work, with rich fringes, ribbons, tufts, gold lace, &c. it was supported at the four corners with pillars covered with red and gold filk. Under this canopy was the throne; the steps and pavement of which were covered with

the emperors arms in embofied work of gold and filver.

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with crimfon velvet, on which were placed two elbow chairs BOOK x. for their imperial majesties, which glittered with precious stones, and a long table covered with cloth of gold, which hung down to the ground: their usual seats in the church were covered infide and out with cloth of gold, and the bottom was covered with red velvet trimmed with gold; a place was made near the throne, for the royal princesses, adorned with tapestry and cloth of gold, with an eagle of gold embroidery sparkling with jewels.

Her imperial majesty prepared herself for her coronation, by three days fasting and prayer, and the people had notice given them by the fecretary of the chancery, preceded by an officer, with kettle-drums and trumpets.

The 7th of May, the day appointed for the grand coro- Procession to nation, eight battalions and four companies of grenadiers the coronaof the guards were, early in the morning, drawn up in the empress. kremelin, or fort of the palace; our grenadiers lined the road from the palace to the cathedral, opposite to which was St. Michael's church, the burying-place of his majesty's ancestors; the road between them was lined by two battalions, and the road from the cathedral to the gate of the kremelin was lined by the other fix battalions; and from the gate to the monastery of the Resurrection, the burying place of the princesses of the czarian family, was lined by the regiments of Le Fort and Buterski, who supplied the place of four battalions of our division then at Petersburgh.

At nine o'clock in the morning, the clergy met in the church, and read prayers for the prosperity of their imperial

procession, which began at ten in the following order.

1. One half of the horse-guards.

- 2. The empress's pages, and their governor.
- 3. The deputy-master of the ceremonies, Williaminof, with his mace.
  - 4. The deputies of the provinces.
  - 5. The brigadier-generals,
  - 6. The major-generals, | in pairs by feniority:
  - 7. The lieutenant-generals,
- 8. The two great heralds at arms of the empire, Pleshof and count Souffe, both in habits of crimson, and gold embroidery, with the imperial eagle wrought upon them, with their staves in their hands.
- 9. The grand-master of the ceremonies, Shubarof, with his mace.
- 10. Knez Demetri Galitzin and baron Osterman, privycounsellors, carrying, on two cushions, the imperial mantle, which was of cloth of gold lined with ermine; the class were set with many large brilliants; and on the mantle was embroidered, in relievo, the imperial eagle.
- cushion the globe, which was of fine gold, with a cross on the top of it set with diamonds, rubies, sapphires, and emeralds: this globe was much admired, as being the workmanship of ancient Rome.
- 12. Count Pushkin, a privy-counsellor, carrying on a cushion, the scepter, enamelled and adorned with diamonds and rubies, with the imperial eagle at the top; the same

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that was used at the coronation of the ancient emperors of BOOK x. Russia.

13. Count Bruce, a privy-counsellor and master of the ordnance, carrying the crown, which was immensely rich with brilliants, several of which were very large, besides fine oriental pearls of an extraordinary size and an even water; among the other precious stones, of various colours, in this crown, there was a true oriental ruby of uncommon lustre as large as a pigeon's egg, and supposed to be the richest that has yet been known; this supplied the place of a globe on the top of the crown, and the cross was all

14. Count Tolstoi, grand-marshal, with his staff in his hand, on the top of which was an imperial eagle of massive gold, and an emerald as big as a hen's egg.

covered over with brilliants.

15. His imperial majesty, Peter the Great, supported by prince Menzikof and knez Repnin.

16. Her imperial majesty, Catherine, led by his royal highness the duke of Holstein, and attended by the high admiral count Apraxin, and the high chancellor count Goloshin; her train was borne by the princess of Menzikos, the duchess of Trubetzkoi, the countess of Goloskin, the countess of Bruce, and general Butterlin's lady; they were followed by twelve married, and twelve unmarried ladies, clad in robes, and walking in pairs.

17. The married ladies were, four lieutenant-generals ladies, viz. Jaguzinski, Matuskin, Dolgoruki, and Kurakin; eight major-general's ladies, viz. Gunther, Zernishof, Balk, Le-Fort, Trubetzkoy, Ushakost, Romanzof, and Cir-

kaski:

BOOK x. kaski; these were followed by twelve young ladies of the first quality, in pairs.

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- 18. The colonels, and other military officers, and those of the national nobility summoned to attend, all walking in pairs.
- 19. The other half of the horse-guards closed the procession; during which, all the bells in Moscow rang, which was accompanied with the music of the drums and trumpets.

Coronation ceremony.

The procession having entered the cathedral, the regalia were placed on a long table fet there for that purpose; and the duke of Holstein having led the empress to the throne, retired to his place, and the emperor led her to her feat, attended by prince Menzikoff and knez Repnin, and the counts Apraxin and Golofkin, and the ladies who bore the train; their majesties being seated, the archbishops and other prelates also sat down, but the gentlemen and ladies stood during the whole course of the ceremony: when the anthem was fung, the emperor stood up, and taking the scepter from the table, ordered the great-marshal to call the archbishops and prelates, enjoining them to proceed to coronation. The archbishop of Novogorod then addressed the empress thus: "Orthodox and great empress, most gracious " lady, may it please your majesty to repeat the creed Atha-" nasian of orthodox faith, in the presence of your loyal " fubjects."—The empress having repeated this creed, kneeled down on a cushion, and received the archbishop's. benediction, and after prayers were faid, her majefty flood up, and two archbishops took the coronation mantle, and presented it to the emperor, who put it on the empress, withwithout laying the sceptre out of his hand; their majesty's BOOK x. then kneeling down, the archbishop said prayers, at the conclusion of which their majesties rose up, and the emperor. taking the crown, placed it upon her head, but still held the scepter himself; the archbishops then pronounced their benediction in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghoft. and put the imperial globe into her majesty's hand. being done, their majesties took their seats and received the compliments both of the clergy and laity, while the choir fung their usual anthem for their prosperous reign; at the conclusion of which there was a general falvo from all the artillery, and the bells of the whole city were rung.

This done, their majesties being conducted from the throne with the fame ceremonies with which they ascended, they proceeded to the foot of the altar, and from thence to their usual seats; and during the liturgy her majesty took off her crown, which was committed to the charge of the fecretary of the cabinet; and after the prayers for the communion. fervice were fung, the emperor led her majesty, who was dreffed in the crown and imperial mantle, along a walk of scarlet velvet, doubled, and tapestry wrought with gold, to the fanctuary, where the kneeled on a cushion embroidered with gold, where two bishops attended with the holy oil in feparate veffels, and an archbishop anointed her on the forehead, breast, and hands, in the name of the Father, Son,. and Holy Ghost; other archbishops wiped off the oil with cotton, and the archdeacon attending with the holy facrament, faid aloud, "Approach with piety and faith."-Upon which she received the consecrated bread from the archbithop, with a little warm wine; two arch-priests of

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BOOK x. the cathedral carried a gold bason, and an abbot held a gold ewer full of water to wash, and two other abbots held the napkin for her majesty to wipe her hands. This done, their majesties retired to their seats, and there was a second salvo from the guns, and ringing of the bells in the city. At the close of the service, the archbishop of Pleskow made an harangue, in which he mentioned the rare virtues of the emprefs, and shewed how well she deserved that crown which the had now received from God and her husband: and concluded with a congratulation to their majesties in the name of the states of the empire.

Procession to the church of St. Michael.

When this office was over, the duke of Holftein went to attend the empress to the church of St. Michael, to which she walked much in the same order as she came from the palace, but with her crown and mantle on, and under a rich canopy, supported by fix major-generals on poles of massive filver, on each of which were eight eagles of filver gilt, with crowns, &c. and tufts of folid gold, hung to gold twist; the scepter and globe were carried before her, and her train borne up as before; prince Menzikof walked behind the empress, supported by Printzenstein, chancellor of the exchequer, and Pleskof, president of the chamber of finances, each carrying a purse of scarlet velvet embroidered with gold, in which were medals of gold and filver, which the prince threw away among the populace in the way to church; when her majesty arrived at the door, an archbishop met and walked before her with a crucifix; while the litanies were finging, the empress went and paid her devotions at the tombs of the emperor's glorious ancestors; at her leaving this church, there was a third falvo of the guns

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and bells, with kettle-drums and trumpets; and the joyful BOOK x. shouts of the people rent the skies.

From hence her majesty went in a coach drawn by eight Procession to horses to the monastery of Wosnesinki, or the Resurrection, the church of the place of interment for the ladies of the imperial blood: tion.

- 1. By one half of the horse-guards, and their officers.
- 2. Twenty-four valets on foot, marching four a-breast; their coats were green faced with scarlet; their waistcoats scarlet spread over with gold and silver lace; their hats laced with gold, and the hilts of their swords gilt.
- 3. Twelve pages in green liveries, the facing and vest of cloth of gold, scarlet filk stockings with gold clocks, and their sword-hilts filver gilt.
- 4. The empress in a most magnificent coach, drawn by eight horses, with four running footman before, richly drest, and twelve chamberlains and other officers of the court magnificently drest, marching on both sides of the coach.
- 5. Twelve heydukes also on both sides of the coach, at a proper distance from the chamberlains, clad in green coats and scarlet waistcoats richly embroidered with gold, with the emperor's arms and cyphers, the sleeves fringed with gold, and turned up with scarlet velvet; their scarlet velvet caps were edged with green velvet and gold twist, with a star of gold embroidery, with a tust of an apple of silver; on the sides were two silver eagles, and two herons of silver, with a plume of red and white feathers behind; instead of a belt they were two silver chains, fastened to a stripe of scarlet velvet with gold twist; the hilts of their sabres were large and gilt; their boots, which were of Morocco leather,

were

BOOK x. were adorned with buttons, and other ornaments, the work of the goldsmith.

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- 6. Lieutenant-general Lacey rode behind the coach, with two heralds at arms, and threw gold and filver medals among the populace, which were carried for that purpose in purses by the proper officers.
- 7. Six negroes drest in black velvet edged with gold, instead of scarves and bracelets, they had ornaments of red and white feathers, and they had plumes of the same in their turbans, which were faced with muslin; their collars were of silver marked with their majesties cypher.
- 8. His royal highness the duke of Holstein in a coach and fix, with rich blue liveries.
- 9. The counts Apraxin and Golofkin, in one coach and fix, with their fervants in rich liveries.
  - 10. Two coaches and fix, with the ladies of the first rank?
- 11. The other half of the horse-guards closed the procession, and in their passing by were saluted with the points of our spontoons, and colours pointed to the ground, the music playing and drums beating till they were past.

At the monastery, the empress was handed out of the coach by the duke of Holstein; her train was borne as before; and having performed her devotion at the tombs of the ladies of the imperial family, in that monastery, she returned to the palace, and was handed by the duke of Holstein to her apartments where the emperor expected her, and where they past some time while the service was getting ready in the hall of solemnities.

Dinner in the hall of folem-

This hall, for its largeness and ornaments, is one of the finest in Europe, and the windows being proportionably large

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makes it very light; the roof rests on one single pillar in the BOOK X. middle, the cornices and pedestals are of fine work in plaister of Paris; all the wainfcotting is of curious workmanship. and three feet in height; all round was hung with crimfon velvet and rich cloth of gold; the floor was covered with Persian carpets of extraordinary size and beauty. Round the pillars a table was fet, with vefiels of gold and filver. adorned with precious stones and pearls; the table where their majesties were to eat was set upon a raised floor, covered with fearlet velvet, laced with gold, under a canopy of the fame, bordered round with deep gold fringe; the table, where the duke of Holstein was to eat alone, was at a little distance from the other in the middle of the hall; and at some little distance below that was a table for the ladies, also in the middle of the hall; and on each fide were long tables, one for persons of the first quality, particularly those who had affifted at the coronation; another for the prelates and principal clergy who had officiated on the fame occasion; at the lower end of the hall was a theatre for the music. Their majesties, and the duke of Holstein, were served in gold plate, the other three tables in filver.

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When every thing was ready, the company moved for the hall, and entered in the following order:

- 1. The master of the ceremonies.
- 2. The two cup-bearers, and count Apraxin, who officiated as carver during the feast.
  - 3. The great freward, followed by the grand marshal.
  - 4. The emperor, and his two fupporters.
- 5. The empress, led by the duke of Holstein, and supported as in the former procession; the train of the impe-

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BOOK x. rial mantle being borne by the five ladies beforemen-

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- 6. The principal ladies of quality, both of the court and empire, with her majefty's maids of honour.
- 7. The other persons of distinction both sexes, clergy and laity.

When their majesties were under the canopy, an archbishop said grace, and then the whole company placed themselves according to their rank. At every course the grand marshal gave orders to the master of ceremonies to go with the officers and order it: all the officers in waiting stood at the hall door, from the first to the last, to receive the dishes, which they carried up to the table in the following order:

- 1. The grand marshal.
- 2. The great steward.
- 3. The chief carver.
- 4. The officers who carried the fervices, who were all colonels; each difh was guarded by two gentleman of the horse-guards, with their carbines.
  - 5. The master of the ceremonies.

The great steward ranged the dishes, and took them off, every time bending the knee, and all the others who waited on their majesties with plates or glasses, served them on the knee: they eat and drank out of gold, and the pyramids of sweetmeats were served up to the royal tables in gold plate; the duke of Holstein was also served in gold, by officers of the first rank.

There were at the same time before the hall, oxen and all manner of fowls roasted for the populace, and on a

stage erected there, were fountains of red and white wines running for them to drink.

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Before the court rose from table, prince Menzikof distributed to every person of rank and distinction, who had affifted at the ceremony, a large medal of gold reprefenting it; and then their majesties returned to their apartments in the same order they had entered, and the officers in waiting, with those of the horse and foot guards, filled the tables, and when the repast was over, we returned to our respective The whole night was spent in great rejoicings, by fire-works, illuminations, bonfires, drums, mufic, and ringing of bells; the streets swarmed all night long with crowds of people. The three following days, the empress received the congratulations of all the foreign ministers, and the deputies of the provinces.

On the fourth day, her majesty gave a very grand entertainment, and in the evening was exhibited a magnificent fire-work, representing the emperor placing the crown on her head, with this motto, "From God and the Emperor;" the city was again completely illuminated, and universal joy displayed itself in every form.

The whole concluded by a general promotion at court, A new mode and in the army and navy, in the Venetian manner, by ballotting, and this was the mode; a white iron box was made with three apertures, and a round opening before, to admit a man's hand; the three apertures were painted white, red, and black; the white for advancement, the red was against it, and the black denoted incapacity. The box was covered with fearlet cloth, and every person qualified to ballot, had a little ball of white leather given him, which

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BOOK x. he could put into either of the apertures without its being observed. Brigadier Knez Usupof, a major in the guards, was to fand the ballot for a major-general, and all the officers of the guards, being eighty-four in number, were fummoned to give their fulfrages; but when the boxes were examined, there was found thirty-two to twenty-three against him, and twenty-nine, declared him incapable. His majesty was very much surprised at this, as knez Usupof was well known to be a very brave officer, and one who had always observed strict discipline, which was thought the real cause of his having so many enemies; on this the ballotting was entirely laid fide, and promotions went on according to the usual form.

The captain obtains his furlough.

I had now once more an offer of preferment made me, but as I conceived it intended to detain me in the fervice. I begged to be excused accepting any till after my return from Britain; but finding prince Menzikoff, at the instigation of count Bruce, very much bent for my staying, I laid my case in such strong terms before the count, that he at last confented and speke of it to the prince, who at length granted my much wished furlough on the 27th of May. I received the pay and forage money due to me from the regiment, but could not get the two years pay that was due to me as engineer, and which amounted to twelve hundred rubles, but was told the money appropriated for the payment of that service was at Petersburgh, and I must go there to receive it; which if I had done, would have effectually put a stop to my journey. I empowered major-general Le Fort to receive my pay, and fell my house and furniture in Petersburgh, and to remit me the money to Scotland;

but a stop was put to it till my return, and at the expira-BOOK x. tion of my furlough, every thing I had left there was felzed, fo that I had no reason to boast of any advantage I reaped in Russia, after thirteeen years service.

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Their majestics left Moscow on the 27th of May, on The captain their journey to Petersburgh, and I set out the 28th. I ar-leaves Mos-

rived at Novogorod the 7th of June, from thence croffing the lake Ilmen, fifty miles, to the river Solon, and twenty miles up that river to Sultza by land, from thence by Pleskow and Petzora, two strong fortified towns, I got to to Wenden in Livonia, on the 15th. This place had formerly been a place of strength, but its fortifications now lay in ruins; and on the 17th, I arrived at Riga, which is one thousand thirty-fix wersts from Moscow. Field marshal Knez Repnin, governor of this city, arrived two days after me. I immediately waited on the governor, and shewed him my pass, and notwithstanding our former difference, on my having refused the offer he made me of being his aidde-camp, he behaved very civilly to me, and offered me his table while I staid in that city. I lodged with colonel Berens of the artillery, who married a niece of the countefs of Bruce.

The colonel took me to the cathedral, and pointing out a mark on the wall, four feet and a half from the ground, told me that the waters of the Dwina, at the breaking up of the ice last year, had rifen to that mark, and overflowed the whole city; and that there happened to be a wedding celebrating in a wooden house without the town, near the river, which was quite full of people, and by the fudden

rifing

BOOK x. rifing of the water, the house was overturned in the height of their merriment, and every person drowned.

1724. A Swedish colonel at ed of having fhot Charles the XIIth of Sweden.

As I was dining at an ordinary one day, with feveral Riga suspects of my acquaintances, there happened to be at the table a Swedish colonel and a lieutenant-colonel, who was born dumb. and had been a great favourite with the late king of Sweden. While we were at dinner, the governor's aid-de-camp came in, and addressing himself to the Swedish colonel, ordered him in the emperor's name to leave Riga immediately, otherwise he would be proceeded against as a traitor. The Swede immediately getting up from the table, quitted the room, pale and trembling. On our enquiring into the reason of this sudden order to the colonel, we were informed that he was suspected of having shot the late king of Sweden, in the trenches before Frederickshal. It seems that fome of the company had by figns, made the dumb lieutenant-colonel understand the affair, on which he ran after him with his fword drawn, and, but for the interposition of the aid-de-camp and some others with him, he would certainly have killed the colonel, who was fafely conducted over the river Dwina, which divides Livonia from Courland, and was followed by his fervants and baggage. It was observed that while he resided in Riga, large remittances had come to him from Stockholm, which made it generally suspected that he had been highly bribed to commit the regicide. The colonel made haste to get into Poland, intending to pass through that kingdom into Turkey, where he was well acquainted, having attended the king of Sweden all the time that prince refided in Bender; but as

he was no more heard of, it was generally thought he had BOOK X. been murdered in Poland.

I had proposed travelling by the way of Berlin, but now The captain finding the ship Isabella, bound for Montrose, John Car-Scotland, negie, master, I took my passage with him, who undertook to lay in a stock of fresh provisions. The ship went down the river the 28th of June, and I followed the next day. attended by many of my acquaintances to fort Dunamand. where I went on board, and that evening we dropt down to the mouth of the river. We failed on the 30th of June, with a fair wind, and past the islands of Runen and Oesel. but the wind turning against us toward night, I began to enquire into the state of our provisions, which consisted of falt beef, peas, barley, biscuit, and bad beer. The master pretended that in the hurry he had forgot to lay in fresh meat, which was a great disappointment to me, as I never could eat falt meat, but for the kind concern of colonel Berens's lady, who, without my knowlege, had fent plenty of all forts of provisions on board, which sufficiently made up the mafter's deficiency. The wind continuing foul we bore away for the ifle of Gothland, and on the 2d of July, we passed the town of Wisby: in passing along the coast of this island, I observed a number of churches with steeples, not above a mile distant from each other. We endeavoured to make the ifle of Oeland, but could not fetch it, and after beating three days to little purpose, I persuaded the master to come to an anchor at the Iunfer Sheren, near the coast of Sweden, where I went ashore with four men in the boat, at some fishing huts, but finding no body in them, and passing a little way into a wood, we came to a number of

people

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BOOK X. people of both fexes, burning limestone, and an old man shewed us the way through part of the wood, to a village, where I bought two sheep, some fowls, eggs, and butter, and returning to the veffel, we got under way again; but the wind continuing unfavourable, we made little progrefs. On the 8th, after a hard gale of wind, with the fea breaking over us all day long, and meeting a Dutchman, who had loft his main-mast in a gale, we got fight of Oeland. On the oth, the wind turned in our favour, which lasted till

holm, a Daand lost.

ten o'clock next morning, being then near the island of Puts into Erd-Bornholm; but the wind fuddenly changing, we were forced holm, a Da-nish harbour back again, which obliged us to run into the harbour of Erdholm. On a fignal, a pilot came on board, who more through defign than ignorance, run the veffel on a rock at the entrance of the harbour, fo close to the shore, that the military who stood there, faw distinctly all our motions on deck, and although they knew our diffress, and boats were in plenty by them on the shore, not one of them offered to advance one step to our assistance. When our warp anchor was putting out, the governor observing that I was better at directing than working, concluded from thence that I was a paffenger, although I was clad in feaman's cloaths, fent his adjutant off in a boat, offering to bring me on shore with my effects, which I readily accepted, and coming up to the governor, we knew each other, being formerly acquainted both in Flanders, and at Copenhagen when the Russian army was there; but before I would enter into any conversation, I pleaded so effectually with him for affistance to get the vessel off the rock, that he sent boats fufficient to take in as much of the cargo as lightened her enough

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enough to get off, so that she did not sustain the least da- BOOK X. mage: she had scarce got into the harbour, before such a heavy gale came on, as would have beat her to pieces had fhe remained a quarter of an hour longer on the rock; fo that the faving of this ship and cargo was entirely owing to my acquaintance with the governor.

This harbour belongs to Denmark, and is one of the A description best in Europe; it has an entrance from the fouth and of the harone from the north, both commanded by forts; they are just broad enough to let one ship at a time pass with ease. It is of a round form, and large enough to contain two hundred fail of ships; and so deep, that they can lay close to the shore. It is of great convenience to the king of Denmark for his ships in war time, as they can enter in at one fide and go out at the other. The island itself is an entire rock, without either earth or fand; yet the governor and officers in garrifon, have transported earth enough from the island of Bornholm, four German leagues, to make gardens for themselves.

Colonel Hirshnach was the present governor, and had his own regiment in garrifon here: they are in a manner feeluded from the world, as no ships ever come in here but through stress of weather or foul winds. There were at this time in the harbour, thirteen ships, Dutch and English, but they are sometimes a year or two, without seeing a ship; in fummer they frequently vifit, and are vifited by their neighbours in Bornholm, several of whom were now here; and dancing and card-playing, the only diversions the place afforded, went forward: fometimes in a fine day they went in boats to the rocks, (which are in great numbers about

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wild ducks, of which the governor makes about four hundred dollars a year.

As the Danes at this time were apprehensive the Russians intended an attempt on Holstein, in favour of its duke, the governor would not fuffer me to go near either of the forts, feeing from my pass that I was only on furlough; but when I had fatisfied him that I did not intend to return to the Ruffian fervice, he conducted me to both himself, when I readily admitted an apology for his prudence from the defenceless state in which I found them; he told me he had often, in vain, follicited for an engineer to put them in a respectable condition, and now asked my opinion on what was necessary to be done for their better defence, and said he had often folicited for an engineer to be fent from Copenhagen, in vain. As they were much out of repair, I told him it would require the attendance of an engineer for some time, to put them in a state of defence. The governor then proposed my entering into the Danish service, assuring me I would be very acceptable as an engineer, as they were fo ill provided, and affured me that he could eafily procure me a company in his own regiment, with a pretty girl into the bargain. This I found afterwards to have been concerted with captain Fisher, a superannuated gentleman of the regiment, and his fpouse, who was to resign his company in my favour if I married his daughter, a genteel pretty girl at the age of eighteen: as they knew the ship was to fail with the first fair wind they proposed my suffering the vessel to depart without me, with assurance that I could not be long without another opportunity, if their propofal

did not meet my approbation; but as I did not incline to be BOOK X. buried alive in fuch an out-of-the-way place, I excufed myfelf in the best manner I could.

The 21st of July in the afternoon, all the wind-bound pepart for fhips failed out of the harbour with a fair wind; our Elfingoliv. boat being left to carry me on board; the governor and the rest of his company conveyed me to the fort, where taking leave of them, I went on board, where I found good store of fresh provisions laid in by the governor and Mrs. Fisher. Having no guns on board, I faluted them with feven muskets, which was returned by five guns from the fort. In passing Bornholm, a Danish man of war spoke to us, and enquired if we knew or had heard of a Russian fleet at fea; from repeated enquiries of this kind, it was evident they expected an invasion of Holstein, as the emperor had demanded the restitution of that dukedom, in very strong terms, for his lawful prince. Passing the island of Muin the 22d, and anchoring next day before Copenhagen, we arrived on the 24th, at Elfinghor. Here the master went ashore to clear out at the custom-house, where I accompanied him, and was brought before the governor to shew my pass, to whom I delivered a letter from governor Hirshnach; the governor detained me to fupper, when he asked me a multitude of questions relating to Russia; and understanding by the letter I brought him, that I was not to return again to that fervice, he urged me much to follow that gentleman's advice, and engage myfelf in the king of Denmark's, which he observed would be easier obtained, as I had then feveral relations of rank in that fervice: to which I answered that he might see from my pass that I

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BOOK x. was not disengaged from the Russian service; and as there was an appearance of a rupture between the two nations, fuch a step might prove of the most dangerous consequence to me, which he could not refuse to admit, if the rupture should take place. It is to be observed that the Danish army is chiefly composed of foreigners, and the Danes and Norwegians are employed in their navy. Here I met with Mr. Pritzbaur, a captain of horse, with whom I had been intimately acquainted in Mecklenburgh; he informed me two of my relations were then at Copenhagen, viz. general Dewitz and colonel Arenfdorf, a first cousin of my father's, and endeavoured much to perfuade me to go with him to fee them, as I could daily get an opportunity of another vessel: but as I very much longed to see my friends in Scotland, I would not confent. However, Mr. Pritzbaur infifted on my making his house my home, the four days I stayed at Elsinghor.

Driven into Marstrand difmasted.

. We departed from hence on the 28th, and on the 30th were overtaken by a violent storm, which carried away our main-mast, with sails, and rigging, and in this distress, with much difficulty, we reached Marstrand, a town and fort in Sweden; here again I met several acquaintances, officers who had been prisoners at Moscow, who now treated me with much civility; feveral Russian foldiers who had been made prisoners by the Swedes, and afterward entered into their fervice, now earneftly folicited me to intercede with the governor, to let them return to their native country; but he faid it was not in his power to discharge them, as they had voluntarily enlifted. It was eight days before we were in a condition to put to fea again, and we departed on the

7th of August; in two days after we were forced by a con-BOOK x trary wind to run into Hamer found, a place pleafantly fituated near a large wood; the days we were detained here, A quarrel bewe passed in fowling or gathering nuts. Here the master tween Carneand his mate quarrelled, and went each with a broad fword mate. into the wood to fight. A lad called Carnegie the mafter's nephew, acquainted me with their defign. I followed them with my fowling piece, the youth directing me the way they had gone; we came up with them when they were going to begin the combat, to which I put a stop to by prefenting my piece at them, threatning to fire on the first aggressor; and coming close to them, I reasoned them out of their folly, and returned with them on board, to fight it out over a bowl of punch, by which means they were fully reconciled again.

On the 14th, we weighed, with a fair wind at east, and The captains passed by Christiansand, and the Neus or Naze, and before arrives in Scotland. night had loft fight of Norway, and the 17th came in fight of land, which the Captain took to be at the entrance of the Firth of Forth, and stretching to the northward, intending to fetch Montrofe, he passed it in very foggy weather, and falling in with a fishing boat, we were informed we were opposite Aberdeen. Here I left the Isabella, and arrived at Aberdeen in the fishing boat, after a tedious voyage of fifty days. I fet out next morning for Fife; and had the pleasure to find my mother, brother, and fister, well at Coupar on the 20th, after an absence of twenty vears.

I got possession of a small estate left me by a grand uncle, upon which I fettled, and after marrying I turned farmer, in which occupation I remained fixteen years, till the war engineers. I was on this recommended by his grace the duke of Argyll, to his grace the duke of Montagu, master general of the ordnance, who employed me as chief engineer, at twenty shillings per day; and was sent to fortify Providence, one of the Bahama islands: so that I once more launched out into a new world for the sake of my family, who were by this time become pretty numerous.

BOOK

## OOK XI.

The captain fent engineer to fortify Providence, and goes out in the Role man of war .- Arrives at the island of Madeira .- Waits on the Portuguese governor .- Description of the island .- A hard passage to Carolina .-Miss a fine prize. - A violent storm. - The fortifications at Charlestocon. -Arrive at Providence. The ruinous condition of fort Nassau-Short history of the Bahama Islands .- The oppressive practices of governor Fitz-William .- Governor Tinker succeeds him .- Short account of that gentleman .- The captain prevails on the inhabitants to carry materials for building fort Montagu. - Nature of the stone-and mastich wood. -Description of fort Montagu. -The governor's letter about it .- A quarrel with lieutenant Stewart .- The captain confined, - and fet at liberty.

HE first of July, 1740, I was appointed chief en-BOOK XT. gineer to fortify the Bahama Islands, at twenty shillings per day. I sat out from Scotland the 8th of August, The Captain and arrived in London on the 16th; and having received fent engineer to fortily Promy instructions from the board, I was ordered to go out vidence, and with John Tinker, esq; who was appointed governor of the Rose man of Bahama Islands, and the Rose man of war, commanded war. by Thomas Frankland, efq. was appointed to carry us. there. We embarked the 6th of November, and failed the next day from Spithead, where we lay at anchor till the oth, and then endeavoured to fail through the Needles, but were obliged, by a contrary wind, to return again to Cowes, where we lay till the 12th; when we failed through the Needles, having feven veffels under our convoy, one of which carried stores and recruits for the Bahama-Islands ;

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xi Islands; but the wind proving contrary, we were forced on the 15th to go into Torbay, and as we were going in we observed a Spanish privateer boarding a merchant-man; we immediately put about, chased, and came up with her at 3 p. m. having fired five chace-guns at her, when she fruck: as we were then under all our fails, with a brifk gale, they let us pass by them without attempting to come on board, and getting under our stern, they endeavoured to get away again; on this the captain ordered to fire with fmall-arms at her, and the fellow that was hoisting the fails being shot, they put out their boat and came on board. ' She had only a captain and twenty men on board, and two English masters of vessels, whom they had taken the day before; having fent her lieutenant and twelve of her hands with her prizes for Spain. They feem to have been ill provided with cloaths when they fet out, for we faw none they had but what they had plundered from the English: they had fixty-four pounds in money, were well-armed, with plenty of ammunition and provisions; the English masters told us, she was a prime failor, had fixteen oars, and only for the cowardly spirit of the crew, it would not have been in our power to come up with her; for they were fo intimidated, that at every gun we fired, they stopt their oars to fay their Ave Maria. Governor Tinker had a narrow escape here, for one of his pistols going off by accident, the ball went through his cloaths.

We got into Torbay the next day, where we found the Argyle, of fifty guns, captain Lingen, bound for Ireland, and the Portmahon, of twenty guns, captain Paulet, for Gibraltar; the next day we burnt our prize, and fent the captain

captain on board the Argyle; he was a Genoese by birth, BOOK XI. had formerly been in our East India company's service, and as he was well acquainted with our coasts, we thought it best to fend him to Ireland; at first he pretended not to understand English, but as he happened to be known by the master of the Rose, who had sailed with him to India. he could no longer pretend ignorance of the language. On board the Argyle he endeavoured to bribe the guard to let him escape, which was no fooner discovered than he was clapped in irons; the rest of the prisoners were sent on fhore.

We left Torbay the 23d of November, and next day had a gale of wind and a heavy fea, which broke over the ship and occasioned a great rolling: I had then the lieutenant's cabin, where the skuttle was forced in, and the water came ' in and wetted all my cloaths and bedding, which obliged me to fet up all night: next day we had a violent storm, which made us take in our fails, lower our top-masts, and drive before the wind. On the 26th, we entered the bay of Bifcay, and were toffed about by foul winds in that heavy fea for feveral days, and loft fight of all our convoy; at the same time a most violent epidemic distemper raged in our ship, by which we lost a number of the men, fo that at last we were forced to bear away for England again, and arrived at Falmouth the 5th of December.

Here we found the Argyle and Port-Mahon windbound. but none of the ships that had been under our convoy were heard of. During our stay here, we fent our surgeon and feveral of the people ashore sick, and got another surgeon and nine feamen out of a merchantman; and our

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one of the failors dangerously hurt, and four of our people deserted: we passed our time agreeably enough on shore at this place, having frequent balls and assemblies till the 17th, that we put out to sea again, and had very boisterous weather for nineteen days successively, which increased the distemper among the people.

Arrives at the island of Madeira.

On the 5th of January we made the island of Madeira; but as no body on board had ever been there, except the master, he insisted it was the island of Porto Sancto, which lies fifty-one east from Madeira; and depending on his judgment, we stood away to the westward, and failed two. days without discovering land, but finding our mistake, were obliged to return, and arrived at Madeira on the oth, The next day we were carried ashore by towards night. the Portuguese in their boats, none of our own people durst venture on the great furf, which is almost continually on the landing-place here even in calm weather. This is a confiderable advantage to the Portuguese, who carry every thing on board and ashore at Madeira. The method they take. in landing is this, they keep themselves very dexterously with. their oars on the top of a high wave, which carries them. a great way on shore, where a number of men stand ready and pull the boat out of the reach of any fucceeding wave. In going on board they put the passengers and goods into the boat on dry land, and the boatmen feat themselves ready with their oars in their hands, and a fufficient number of men run with the boat and push her upon the top of a wave, and so go off without the least difficulty. I could

not but be surprised to see with how much dexterity this was BOOK XI. performed ...

When we came ashore, I accompanied governor Tinker Wait on the to wait on the governor of the place; who was faluted by Portuguese a numerous guard, and afterwards conducted by two gentlemen towards the Portuguese governor, who received us on the top of a high outer stair, and carried us into a large hall; Mr. Tinker, with his retinue, being feated on one fide of the room, and the Portuguese gentlemen on the oppofite, the Madeira governor took his feat directly facing Mr. Tinker, and after exchanging a few words in a very ceremonious manner, we went away, escorted with the same formalities as we had at entering. We dined with Mr. Baker, the British conful, where the Portuguese governor came after dinner to return governor Tinker's visit, which was as flort and as ceremonious as the former; and here ended all the intercourse between the two governors. We went next to fee their churches and monasteries, conducted by an Irish priest; next day, we dined with Messieurs Scott, merchants, and afterward walked up the fouth-fide of the hill, where we saw a number of pleasure-houses, but particularly that belonging to the providore, where there were three artificial flats below each other in front, with waterworks and flower-pots, prettily laid out, although fmall. Description All the fouth-fide of this island is an entire mountain, co- of the island; vered with vines, interspersed with houses, and orange, lemon, and other kinds of fruit-trees; the north-fide of

† The same method is practifed at Deal, in Kent, when the furf is heavy on the beach, which often happens.

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for their cattle; the inhabited, but referved for pasturage for their cattle; the inhabitants dwell all along the southfhore, and the bay is commanded by two forts, well supplied with cannon. The last day of our stop here, we dined with Mr. Chambers, and spent the evening with Mr. Gordon, both merchants; from the latter I bought several pipes of wine, at eleven pounds sive shillings the pipe, which I sent in a snow to South Carolina; they put an anchor of brandy into every pipe that goes abroad, both to

strengthen and preserve it.

A hard paffage to Carolina.

On the 13th of January we went on board, and failed in the night, when the captain's French cook jumped overboard and fwam on shore; we had now lost nineteen men in all fince we left Spithead; the next day we had a violent storm, and such a heavy sea, that the waves broke over the quarter-deck in fuch a manner that the people could not stand to their duty, and every bed and hammock in. the ship were foaked with water. The distemper began to rage more and more among us; the governor, captain, and. most of the officers were sick in bed. All this occasioned a lowness of spirit over the ship; the storm continued all the 15th, during which we were in a most disagreeable situation. in our wet clothes. On the 16th, the storm abated, but the fickness increased, very few who were seised escaping with life, so that the corpse of some one or other was every. day committed to the deep. The 17th, we past near Teneriffe, and the island of Palma; and the 18th, we got into. the trade-wind, when we steered due west; as by this means the ship's crew were relieved from their toilsome labour: the fick were all brought upon deck, the ship was tho-

thoroughly cleanfed, by which the fickness very much abated, BOOK XI. and the men were encouraged in all forts of diversions, thereby to keep them in perpetual motion. We chased feveral fail, but when we got up with them they proved to be either English or Dutch. On the 31st, we were becalmed in lat. 24. 51. north, and faw a great number of tropic birds; and this day five more of our people, and a negroe belonging to the captain, died.

February the 3d, we had a strong gale, with such a Misa fine tumbling fea as made the ship roll away her fore-top and prize. top-gallant masts, which came down upon deck with all their furniture; after this we had tolerably good weather. On the 16th, in the morning, in lat. 30. 46. we chaced a ship and got up with her at ten o'clock; she hoisted Dutch colours and struck on our firing; on coming close up to her, the captain ordered the master of her to come on board, but they pretended not to understand him; our lieutenant, with twelve men in the shaloup, were fent onboard to examine her papers, who reported, that she was a Dutch ship from Curacoa for Amsterdam, loaded with: dollars and tobacco, and had four French gentlemen paffengers: we were unanimously, however, (except governor) Tinker) of opinion, that if the were strictly examined the would prove a lawful prize, and the captain feemed determined to fecure her; Mr. Tinker endeavoured to diffuade him, by infinuating the trouble and expence feveral captains. had brought themselves into by carrying Dutch ships out of their course; captain Frankland asked my opinion: I toldhim, that if it was my case, I would not carry her out ofher course, but would go along with her till I had narrowly

Dutch languages, I offered my affiftance; but the governor fo intimidated the captain, who was but young, and this his first voyage as a commanding officer, that he let her pass without farther enquiry, to the distaissaction of the whole ship's company, as we had afterwards certain information of ther safe arrival at Cadiz, with one hundred and thirty thousand pounds sterling on board.

A violent

On the 18th, at fix in the morning, in latitude 31 deg. 13 min. we met with a terrible hurricane, attended with heavy rain, thunder, and lightning; it carried away our fore mast fails and all over board, after that our main-topmast, and at eight o'clock our mizen-mast; and as their masts had got under the ship, they were fastened to her bottom by the wet fails being thereby in great danger of foundering; at the return of every heavy sea the ends of our broken masts and yards struck her bottom with such violence that it was a miracle they did not make their way through. All hands were fet to work to clear away the rigging, which, when performed, a high wave at last relieved us from that incumbrance; and in this pitiful fituation we were toffed up and down the remainder of the day, and all the following night. The next day the weather being a little fettled, we hoisted our main-sail and set up jurymasts; we went under these till the 26th, when we saw a ship not far from us, stranded on a fand-bank, and a small schooner sailing along the coast; on our firing a gun to bring the schooner to, the master came on board, and informed us we were at Cape Roman, to the northward of Charlestown, Carolina; he piloted us to Charlestown bar, where

where a pilot from the town came on board. I went in the BOOK XI. schooner to Charlestown, where I found this city in a deplorable fituation, the one half of which had been laid in ashes by a dreadful fire, and the ruins were still smoaking: a vast quantity of merchandize, to a very considerable amount, was quite confumed. Our ship lying without an opportunity to get over the bar, was driven out to fea by a land-breeze, which carried away her jury-mast; two veffels were fent out to her affiftance, but it was the 2d of March before she got over the bar: in the time they were driven out to fea, both the master and gunner died. We found here the Phœnix, captain Fanshaw, and the Tartar. the honourable captain George Townsend, both twenty-gun ships, stationed at this place, and our store ship, who had pushed through the bay of Biscay, made a good voyage to Providence, where she landed her recruits and stores, was. returned here. The fnow also arriving from Madeira with. our wine, I fold the half of mine, by which I had the other half free.

The gentlemen of the council and affembly, and others, of Charlestown, shewed us a great deal of civility during our stay here, with daily entertainments and balls. 23d we saw their militia reviewed, which consisted of fix companies of one hundred men each; the officers appeared: all in uniforms, and the men performed their exercise furprifingly well; the review concluded with an elegant entertainment and a ball at night. The next day I went with governor. Tinker, and the captains Townsend and Frankland, by invitation, to colonel Vander Duffen's plantation, where we spent some days very agreeably; after1741.

QUI.

BOOK XI. our return to town, we went to view Johnson's fort, which flands two miles from the town, and commands the passage The fortifi- into the harbour. At our arrival the governor was faluted cations at Charlestown. with eleven eighteen-pounders. This fort is a triangle, badly executed, mounted with twelve fix-pounders; below it is the fea battery mounted with thirty guns, nine, twelve, and eighteen-pounders: on our departure we were faluted with eleven nine-pounders. Upon a point of land at the fouth end of the town, stand Broughton's battery, which commands both Cooper and Ashley rivers, and is mounted with forty-five guns, nine, twelve, and eighteen-pounders; and betwixt Grenville and Craven bastions, upon the curtain along the bay fronting Cooper river, there are one hundred and thirty guns of different fizes, the carriages of feveral of which were burnt in the late fire. There was but one brafs mortar of eleven inches, and eight cohorns, all the rest having been sent to general Oglethorpe, on his expedition against St. Augustine.

Governor Tinker finding it would be yet a confiderable time before the Rose man of war could be fit to go to sea, desired Commodore Fanshaw to send the Tartar to carry us to Providence; which he complied with, and we went on board on the 10th of April. We struck several times going over the bar, but received no injury from it: we had a pleasant passage till the 19th, in the evening, when fitting after fupper, and all very chearful, we were alarmed by the call of breakers, by one of the people; captain Townsend immediately ran upon deck, and ordered the helm a lee, which was instantly done, and the fails were shifted with great regularity and expedition, not a

voice

voice was heard but the captain's; and when the ship was BOOK XI. about, one might easily have thrown a stone from thestern upon the rocks of Abbaco: it happened very luckily to be fine moon light. Mr. Buckle, the lieutenant, who was then in bed preparing himfelf for the night watch, upon comparing his reckoning with the pilot's, apprehended we were twenty leagues to the westward of the island of Abbaco; but the strong currents that run here occafioned the mistake. Next day captain Townsend lost a very fine black boy, who coming up with a kettle of boiling water, fell with it, and fealded himself in such a manner. that he died foon after, to the great regret of his mafter.

On the 21st of April, just as we had got over the Arrive at Prebar at Providence, a fudden from of loud thunder and vidences lightning, with a prodigious heavy rain, burst upon us. with fuch a terrible noise, that we could not hear the falute of the cannon of the fort, although we were opposite to it, which some people considered as very ominous. On our landing we were met on the shore by great numbers of the inhabitants, convened to congratulate their new governor on his fafe arrival on the island, expecting, as they expressed themselves, to live under a milder government than they had experienced under the arbitrary power of their late governor.

Captain Laws, who commanded a floop of war stationed at this place, and who had lost his rank by accepting the command of the floop, expecting our arrival, and to flun his being under the command of a junior officer, went a few days before our arrival to Jamaica, and left his ready-furnished house (one of the best in the town) for

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BOOK XI, my use, having paid his year's rent (at twenty pounds ster-- ling per annum), of which there was nine months to come, for which I was certainly much obliged to him; it had also a garden with a large grove of orange trees.

> There was an independent company at this place, confifting of one hundred and fifty men, of which the governor is captain; with three lieutenants, the oldest of whom was John Howel. Mr. Howel was now prefident of the Bahama islands; he had formerly been a surgeon to the pirates, and upon an act of grace, he purchased the lieutenancy, and was also surgeon to the company, and colonelof the militia for the fake of the title. The fecond lieustenant was William Stuart, who was major of the militia: this gentleman acted in a double capacity, having purchased the furgency from the former; but the governor made him: part with the furgency to James Irving, who came with us, from Charlestown. The third was William Moone, who came from London in the storeship with the recruits; Mr. Moone had no commission, but acted under the governor's. warrant a confiderable time, in expectation of one; of: which he was at last disappointed by the arrival of Patrick. Dromgole, a nephew of the former governor's, with a. commission for third lieutenant, which was a very greathardship to Mr. Moone. The only people of note here, were chief justice Rowland; James Scott, secretary and clerk of the admiralty; John Keowin, provost marshal; Chaloner Jackson, collector; and Mr. Smith, the parson.

The ruinous condition of

Upon viewing fort Nassau, I found it in a very ruinous Fort Massau. condition; the barracks, which were built of wood, were. ready to tumble down, and there was no other building

within

within the fort; the powder magazine was a house which BOOK XI. stood at some distance from it, exposed in such a manner that any body might fet fire to it. I found no more than fixteen guns, mounted upon very bad carriages; the rest were all fcattered up and down, and some buried within high water mark in the fand, some of which were spiked up, others rammed full of stones and fand; the carriages trucks and shot were also dispersed, so that with much difficulty I collected them together: the inhabitants had made use of great part of them for ballast in their vessels. Having got them all collected in one place, I drilled those that had been nailed up, cleaned the whole from ruft, and proved them by firing, I had now fifty-four guns of fix, nine, twelve, and eighteen-pounders, fit for fervice. and mounted them on the new carriages which came out of the store-ship from England. My greatest difficulty was the want of masons, of whom there was not one in the place, which obliged me to commission some from the northern colonies; but all I could get were two bricklayers from Philadelphia, who knew nothing of masonry. So that I had the trouble of teaching them and some of the foldiers, to form, cut, and lay stones; and as no labourers were to be got without finding them in provisions, which were not to be procured here, as the inhabitants themselves lived principally on tortoife and fish, (any kind of fleshmeat being a great rarity,) I was obliged to fend to New York for provisions. The former governor, as well as the present, had provided a quantity of lime; so that my next concern was to provide stone for a new fort. The harbour is formed by Hog Island, which is three miles in Ddd 2 length,

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BOOK XI length; and as the enemy in attempting to destroy this settlement, had commonly landed at the east end of the harbour, within three miles of Nassau, I resolved to build my new fort at this place, as the most effential to prevent such infults in future, where, as the entrance is not a gun-shot broad, the harbour would be fufficiently fecured. The island of Providence is twenty-feven miles long, and eleven broad, and is fo entirely furrounded by innumerable funken rocks, that it is impossible for any ships to land, except in the harbour; and if an enemy were to land in boats, it would be impossible for them to get through the underwoods, without cutting a road through them. There are no inhabitants on any of the other islands, excepting Eluthera and Harbour-Islands.

The departure of the honourable captain George Townsend, on his return to Carolina, on the 16th of May, left this place very lonely; the officers and feamen being commonly on shore, had greatly enlivened it while they remained: In the mean time, that I was providing materials for building the fort, I made it my business to enquire into the first fettlement, and the nature of those islands; and the following particulars are what I collected.

Short history of the Bahama Iflands.

The Bahama Islands are some hundreds in number, but the far greatest part are very inconsiderable; they are situated between the 22d and 23d deg. north lat. they were originally discovered by the Spaniards, and St. Salvadore, now called Cat-Island, was the first land Columbus set his foot on this new world, which was in the year 1493, and where are still to be seen the ruins and foundations of their chapels and other buildings; for their first settlements were here, till

the natives, who wore plates of gold upon their lips, being BOOK XI. asked by signs whence it came, pointed towards the southwest: and these islands came to be deserted for the mines of Mexico and Peru. The cruelty exercifed by the Spaniards over these poor people, both during their stay amongst them, and afterwards from Cuba, exceeds all imagination, they having trained up dogs to hunt those unhappy people as their proper game; and this cruel sport they followed till they had entirely destroyed all the inhabitants.

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About the year 1607, these islands were again discovered by captain William Sayle (afterwards governor of Carolina), and granted by king Charles II. to fix of the proprietors of Carolina, viz. the duke of Albemarle, lord Craven, fir John Carteret, lord Berkeley, lord Ashley, and sir Peter Coleton; but as people are more desirous to obtain grants of land than careful to improve them, they have been very much neglected ever fince. Several lawless people at that time had taken possession of Providence, which lies in 25 deg. north latitude, to which they were encouraged by its very commodious harbour; and being joined by feveral pirates, they subsisted by their depredations on the coasts of Cubawhich they called buccaneering: besides this they enriched themselves by the frequent wrecks happening upon the Bahama banks. These practices naturally exasperated the Spaniards to the resolution of destroying those buccaneers, and the proprietors in all that time took no notice of their islands, but let them live as they pleased, till the year 1670, that they appointed Mr. Collingworth to be governor; but, after his arrival, in endeavouring to reform them, they feized:

to subject themselves to any government.

1741.

In 1677, the proprietors appointed Mr. Clarke to be their governor, but he fared infinitely worse than his predecessor; for the Spaniards, jealous of every English colony, landed in Providence, where they seized the governor, burnt all the houses, destroyed the stock, and took all the inhabitants they could catch, the rest hiding themselves in the woods; they carried off Mr. Clark in chains, and afterwards tortured thim to death, and then roasted him.

When Mr. Lilburn was governor, in the year 1684, the Spaniards again furprifed the place, deftroyed all their improvements, carried away a number of the inhabitants with the fame barbarity as before, and left those that escaped in a miserable condition, dispersed in holes and in the woods, without any manner of government till 1687. They reaffembled and renewed their fettlements, and chose Mr. Bridges, a presbyterian minister, for their governor, under whom they lived three years. The lords proprietors fent out Mr. Jones to be their governor in 1690, who oppressed and tyrannifed over the inhabitants with a very high hand, in which he reckoned himself perfectly secure by the affistance of Avery the pirate, who commanded a fhip of fortyfix guns, and one hundred and twenty flout feamen; but, in his absence, the inhabitants put the governor in prison, and chose Mr. Ashley for their president, till Mr. Jones could be brought to his trial: but upon the return of the pirates from a cruize he was by them fet again at liberty: after which he behaved much worse than before, and imprisoned all

those he suspected; desiring the pirates to carry them off BOOK x1. the island and make away with them.

1741.

These proceedings coming to the ears of the proprietors, they fent Mr. Trot as their governor, to supercede Jones, in 1694, and immediately released the imprisoned inhabitants; he also allowed Jones to go off the island without a legal trial, to the no small grief and vexation of the inhabitants: he likewise suffered Avery the pirate, who changed his name to Bridgeman, to shelter himself and his crew at Providence: their ship, called the Fancy, was voluntarily loft, and the effects which they had pirated from the great mogul, were landed and shared, with which they settled upon the island, till a proclamation against pirates obliged the governor to fummons them before such a court of justtice as he had in Providence: but, for want of power, and the pirates being now joined with the inhabitants, he durst not try them, for fear of being himself murdered, for he had often mutinies during his government. The inhabitants, after this joined, and built a small fort, and planted it with twenty-two cannon, to protect themselves against the frequent invasions of the Spaniards, and also built a town of one hundred and fixty houses, which they called Nassau.

In 1697, Mr. Jones was fucceeded by Mr. Webb, as governor, who continued in it two years, and in that short time found means to render himself so obnoxious to the people, that he found himself obliged to ship off his effects and go to Pensylvania; from whence, without the knowledge of the proprietors, he deputed one Elding, a mulatto, to succeed him, in 1699; by virtue of which deputation, he had the affurance to act as governor, notwithstanding he.

up a correspondence with a new set of pirates, who frequented the Bahamas, he, by their assistance, maintained himself in this government two years, till

1701, the lords proprietors appointed Mr. Hasket, governor; who, on his arrival, profecuted and confined Elding, with feveral others, under pretence of enforcing the laws against pirates and their abettors. In this the inhabitants thought Mr. Hasket acted with too great severity, and too much regard to his own interest, and not having strength to support his authority, they, in open rebellion, in about five weeks after his arrival on the island, seised and confined him in irons a close prisoner fix weeks; but being prevailed upon to spare his life, they put him on board a ketch in the harbour, with strict orders to the commander to carry Mr. Hasket to England, from whence he came; and chose one Lichtwood, who was one of their accomplices, for their prefident and deputy-governor in his room. Lichtwood continued in his office about two years, till the French and Spaniards, in 1703, when they were at open war with England, furprifed the island so completely, that they found the inhabitants feafting with their prefident, and their neglected fort without any garrison. The enemy destroyed the fort, spiked the guns, burnt the town and church, plundered the inhabitants, fome of whom, and fome negroes, hid themselves in the woods, and carried their deputy-governor, with many others, prisoners to the Havannah. Shortly after this, those formidable enemies returned again, and carried away all the inhabitants and negroes they could find,

Same Proces

find, the few who escaped fled to Carolina and Virginia, BOOK XI.

leaving the island entirely desolate.

It was afterwards for some years the resort of pirates only, who made it their general rendezvous: they dug holes in the ground in the woods, and hid their ill-gotten treasures there, where they remained, as many of them were killed or died at sea; and some part of their deposits are now and then occasionally discovered to this day.

Soon after this desolation, the proprietors appointed Mr. Birch to succeed Mr. Harket, as governor; but on Mr. Birch's arrival at Providence, and finding the island quite deserted of inhabitants he returned. From this time the lord's proprietors have not concerned themseves in those islands, but gave up their right in them to the crown, having met with nothing but expence and trouble while under their direction.

The king was folicited by the merchants of London and Bristol to fortify those islands, as a security to their trade; and, in compliance with their request, his majesty (George I.) appointed Mr. Wood Rogers, their governor, and sent him out with an independent company of one hundred men, with a large quantity of all kind of stores to fortify the place. On Mr. Rogers's arrival, in 1717, the pirates voluntarily surrendered themselves to him, and accepted the benefit of an act of indemnity which had been past, and have ever since been the principal inhabitants of the island. Under the moderate governments of Mr. Rogers, and his successor, Mr. Finney, the people found themselves happy, and many families came and settled here, besides many Palatines, who, by their industry and improvements upon

E e e

their

BOOK XI their plantations, furnished the markets with all forts of provisions.

1741. The oppreffive practices of governor

After Mr. Finney's death, Richard Fitz William, efg. was: appointed governor, in 1722, who brought an addition of Fitz William. fifty men to the independent company, with a large quantity of all forts of stores, and an engineer (Mr. Thomas More), to fortify the place; but his fudden death prevented him from making any great progress in the work. The governor exerted fo arbitrary and tyrannical a power, that the best of the inhabitants, and all the Palatines, withdrew from the island, forfaking their fine improvements, toshelter themselves in other parts, where they were sure to meet with better usage. The governor's agents for putting those oppressive schemes in execution were, lieutenant Stuart, one of 'the council; James Scott, judge of the admiralty; and one Archibald, his fervant, who used to knock down any one who dared to refuse to enter into the governor's measures: on which three of the most considerable inhabitants found means to get to London, where they entered a complaint against the governor before the king and council. They were Mr. Colburgh, collector Jackson, and Mr. White; their petition, too long to be here inferted, contained many charges of a very extraordinary nature against the governor.

Governor Tinker fuccceds him.

In confequence of which, Mr. Fitz William was some time after ordered to return, to make his defence; and, after a tedious and expensive trial, he lost his government, and was fucceeded by John Tinker, efq. who, upon his fetting out, was determined to make the people eafy and happy under his government; and to turn out all Mr. Fitz William's favourites, especially those who had advised and affisted him

in his oppressions; of which he made a beginning at Charles-BOOK x1. town with his fecond lieutenant, William Stuart, who was there at our arrival, whom he obliged to dispose of his furgency to James Irving, lately arrived from Guinea in a ship with flaves; and when Mr. Tinker arrived at Providence. he turned out the two lieutenants. Howel and Stuart, the one from being lieutenant-colonel, the other major, in the militia, and appointed two of the chief inhabitants in their James Scott was displaced from being chief judge. and Mr. Rowland was re-instated; with many other changes. to the great joy and fatisfaction of all the inhabitants, who now expected to enjoy their own in fafety.

John Tinker, esq. had formerly been factor to the South-Sea-Company at Panama, and afterwards appointed, by the African Company, governor of Cape Coast, in Guinea.

The council at Providence, at this time, confifted only of three; the lieutenants Howel and Stuart, and John Snow, the governor's fecretary: the usual number is fix. To supply this deficiency, the governor proposed to captain Frankland and me to be of his council, which we both declined; but we both accepted to be chosen members of the assembly, whichconfisted of twenty in number, and of which James Scott was the speaker; so that collector Boothby, and Mr. Thomfon, one of the inhabitants, were appointed to be of the council.

In the mean time I was employing myself in providing ma- The captain terials for erecting fort Montagu, on the east point of the har- the inhabitbour, three miles from Nassau. As the lime which the two go- the materials vernors had provided was at too great a distance, I made lime for building Fort Mon. upon the spot. I found great inconvenience in providing stone, tagu-

Eee2

which

. 2741.

BOOK XI. Which was to be carried from the woods on the heads of the negroes; and as they could not carry a stone of any fize, it would have proved an endless work, there being no such thing as a wheel carriage in the ifland. Mr. Bullock, one of the inhabitants, arrived here on the 8th of June, from the Havannah, where he had been some time a prisoner, who affured us that the Spaniards were fitting out two men of war, of 80 guns each, and three large gallies, full of men, to make a descent on Providence. Upon this I took the opportunity to lay the defenceless state of the island before the affembly; affuring them, that if they would supply me with materials, I would, in a short time, put the east side of the harbour in a posture of defence, as that was the place where we had the most to fear, having always been the enemy's landing place: to this request they unanimously agreed, and ordered all their vessels and boats to bring me a sufficient quantity of stones of proper fizes for erecting the fort, and also a number of mastich trees, for pallisades. This very foon enabled me to employ all my own hands upon the building, which I carried on with the utmost dispatch and diligence.

fone.

Upon the 10th of June the governor laid the foundation stone, in the presence of the principal inhabitants, and named the fort Montagu, and the fea battery Bladen's Battery. Nature of the All the stone on this and the adjacent islands is of so soft a nature, when raifed from the quarries, that we could cut and shape them into any form with very little labour; and after they have been some time exposed in the open air, they turn hard as flint, with this excellent property, that in firing into the walls, the ball lodges as in a mud wall, without making 4

making the least breach; this I proved by several shot from BOOK XI. an eighteen-pounder. I found no small difficulty in getting fresh water for the mortar; I was at first supplied by a small pool of rain water, but when that was dried up, I had recourse to digging a well through this foft rock; and getting as low as the level of the fea, we found water very fresh, by the fea water having filtered through the stone, and left its saline particles behind. We found afterwards that the farther we dug from the fea, the water proved to be fo much the fresher. The masters of vessels provided themselves with filtering stones, which contained several gallons, to rectify their spoiled water on board. The mastich wood, which the in- And mastich habitants delivered for palifades, was as hard and heavy as wood. iron; I was obliged to form them while the wood was green, for when they are fully dry, there is no possibility of working them. The inhabitants affirmed to me that they would last above a century: they are so hard that a musket-ball makes no impression on them; they assured me they were proof against swivel shot, but this I did not think proper to try...

1742.

Fort Montaguand Bladen's Battery were finished the Adescription latter end of July, 1742, and mounted eight 18, three 9, tagu. and fix 6 pounders. Within the fort is a terraffed ciftern, containing thirty tons of rain water, and fo contrived as to receive all that falls within the fort, with a drain to carry off the fuperfluous water; there are barracks for officers and foldiers, a guard room, and a powder magazine, bomb proof, to contain ninety-five barrels of powder; two of its fides are close upon the fea, and the two land sides are well secured by mastich pallisades.

When .

principal inhabitants to it, and then delivered his excellency the keys thereof, under a discharge of all the cannon. The the governor and the inhabitants were now extremely well pleased to consider themselves in a condition to repel the invasion of an enemy, as the back door through which the place had often been surprised, was now that up; and in this good humour the governor wrote the following letter to the duke of Montagu.

New Providence, Aug. 28, 1742.

" My Lord,

The governoi's letter 2bout it.

"I should have prefented my duty to your grace much " fooner, but waited till captain Bruce had finished the fort, "which I have taken the liberty of calling by your grace's "illustrious name, as a mark of respect and veneration due " to your grace's person and merit. It is situated so as to " guard the eastern part of this island very securely, and is " as strong as any thing of its size can be: and I must do " the gentleman who has the direction of those works, the " justice to fay, I believe the public money was never more " frugally or more justly administered; which is a proof of " your grace's excellent judgment in the choice of men. He " is now engaged about the other works, at fort Nassau; " and as he proposes to lay before your grace, and the board of ordnance, the absolute necessity there will be of erect-"ing a strong redoubt, in order to complete the well-forti-"fying of this island, a farther sum of money will be want-"ing than the fixteen hundred pounds already allowed; " which

" which will be foon laid out in raifing the old fort from BOOK XI " the ruinous condition it lies in now. I think, by the -" nearest estimate we can make, there will be still wanting "two thousand five hundred pounds; which, when your " grace is pleased to compare with the mighty sum that Mr. " Moore's plan would have taken to put in execution, I hope "this will be thought a trifle; especially when the ill conse-" quence of fuch a place falling into an enemy's hands, is " taken into confideration. We may fet them at defiance. " if these works are all completed in the manner proposed: " because I am persuaded this will then be the strongest pos-" fession in British America: always supposing a proper " garrison will be established, which cannot be less than three "hundred men. Fort Montagu requires an officer and fifty-"men for its ordinary guard; your grace will fee the im-" poffibility of doing the common duty with only one in-" dependent company, our whole force at present. "I have prefented a memorial to the board, praying for " a fupply of powder and small arms, which, I hope, will. " not be thought unreasonable, when it shall appear fifty

" barrels were fent to general Oglethorpe before he went to-"St. Augustine, and two mortars, which have never been. " returned, and now I believe he has use enough for them. " I have also intelligence, that if the Spaniards succeed at "Georgia, they will fall upon us next. I humbly ask par-"don for this freedom, and only beg your grace will be. " pleased to take the Bahama Islands and their governor. " under your protection.

" (Signed) JOHN. TINKER."

BOOK XI.

A quarrel with lieute-

At the delivery of the before mentioned materials by the inhabitants, it was hinted to me, by way of friendly advice, to state the same to the government's account, as that could not be looked on as a breach of trust; but as I was determined not to enter into any unlawful schemes, I rejected the propofal. A club had been instituted to meet once a week at a tayern, and at our third meeting, which happened foon after this friendly propofal, a dispute arose between me and lieutenant Stuart; and when his excellency faw the difpute beginning to grow warm, he absented himself; on which, averse to any farther altereation, I went home. Next morning, at day break, looking out at my windo N, I faw Stuart riding past, armed with sword and pistols; I asked him where he had been fo early in the morning, accounted inthat manner; he replied I had certainly forgot that I had given him a challenge the night before; I told him I could remember no fuch thing; but fince that was the case, as he faid, I would immediately put on my cloaths, and attend him wherever he pleafed; observing to him my surprize how he came to pass and repass under my windows, knowing I was afleep in bed, without either calling or fending to acquaint me with his defign: he then replied, fince I did not remember my giving him a challenge, he had nothing to fay, as he did not intend to have any quarrel with me; that it was great folly for people to involve themselves in needless dangers; and wishing me a good morning, he went home.

The captain confined.

About three hours after, as I was walking along the bay, in my morning drefs, with half of a stick in my hand, split down the middle, and had got opposite the governor's win-

dows,

dows, Stuart came up with me, and knocked me down: BOOK XI. upon recovering myself, I hit him with the edge of my half flick fuch a blow, that it laid his cheek open from his ear to his mouth; on which judge Rowland, and feveral of the inhabitants, who had been witnesses to Stuart's treacherous infult, came and parted us; and, upon my fervant's bringing me my fword and pistols, we were both secured by the guard, and had fentries placed at our doors: there I remained a prisoner for a fortnight, without the governor's enquiring into the merits of the case, or offering to give me the least satisfaction for the insult I had met with in his view; but he was every day with Stuart, who feemed to me to be only detained a prisoner by way of a blind.

As the workmen could do nothing without I shewed them And set at lidaily how to proceed, it in course put a stop to the works, which occasioned a very loud clamour among the inhabitants, who had contributed fo much towards getting thefe works expeditiously carried on; on which the governor fent for me, and proposed an accommodation between Stuart and me; who, he faid, had offered to acknowledge his fault. and ask my pardon in public, and in as ample a manner as I fhould think fit: but I told the governor that as I had been in a manner affassinated in his own fight, I could not but have expected to have been redressed by him; instead of which I had been punished by two weeks confinement; and as I was fatisfied there was no fafety for my person, I should be obliged either to leave the island, or put a stop to the works till farther orders from England. Upon this the governor proposed, that fince he had certain intelligence of the determination of the Spaniards to invade this island, I should

would engage his word and honour, fince nothing else would fatisfy me, that as foon as fort Nassau was finished, he would order Stuart to any place, out of the island, I pleased for my satisfaction, upon condition I should make no attempt against him till then; to which conditions I agreed, and proceeded with the works again with the utmost diligence; but never without my sword and pistols, thereby to prevent my being attacked again in such a villainous manner.

## B 0 0 K XII.

The treatment of two privateers and their owners. - Letter from licutenant Moone .- Letter from a friend .- Letter from lieutenant Dromgole .-Division of the quick-silver .- The captain applies again to the assembly to bring the materials.—The affembly withdraw the governor's falary.— Letter from lieutenant Moone. - Another from Charlestown. - Letter from governor Glen .- Produce of the Bahama islands, and the adjacent sea -Observations on St. Salvador and the Bimini islands .- The inhabitants of Providence. - Description of fort Nassau-Cost of both forts. - The captain leaves Providence. - Arrives at Charlestown. - His report of the strength of Charlestown .- A visit from a Cherokee king .- Captain Frankland's rich prize. - A short description of Carolina. - The captain sails for England .- Arrives at London.

TN the month of September a rich Spanish register ship BOOK XII. and settee were brought in by John Sibbald, of the George fchooner, and William Dowall, of the Joseph and Mary Treatment of floop, both privateers from Philadelphia; the captains of two privateers and their ownthe privateers were recommended to Mr. Tinker's protection ers. by governor Thomas, of Philadelphia, and feveral confiderable merchants of that place, their owners. A few days after the prizes were brought in, a flag of truce arrived from the Havannah, fent by the governor and royal company there. to redeem the register ship, whose cargo amounted to one hundred and fifty thousand pieces of eight, prime cost at Cadiz, befides fome valuable private trade, not belonging to the royal company, computed at thirty thousand pieces of eight; the fettee was loaded with quick-filver, wine, and Fff2 other

owners to bargain for the prizes for their account, he agreed with don Pedro de Lestrado, who came from the Havannah for that purpose, to deliver him the register ship and her cargo for ninety thousand pieces of eight; and the private trade, and the settee were reserved for the owners of the privateers, don Pedro having only orders to redeem the royal company's effects. So the Spaniards gained sixty thousand pieces of eight by the cargo, besides the value of the ship, which was a fine new one, built in the river Thames, and taken by the Spaniards in her first voyage. As the money for the purchase was to be procured at the Havannah, don Pedro returned in the flag of truce for that purpose, accompanied by John Snow, the governor's secretary, and several Spanish prisoners, captured by captain Frankland.

In the mean time, the privateers' men were encouraged on shore with rioting and drinking, thereby to run them in debt; and as none of them would go on board to do the work, the captains and officers of the privateers were obliged to do all the necessary duty on board the vessels, themselves. The captains applied to the governor to order the people on board to their duty, but all in vain; instead of that, they were encouraged to insult and affront them on all occasions. At length don Pedro Feron arrived from the Havannah, with thirty chests of pieces of eight, each chest containing three thousand; which he delivered in full payment for the ship and cargo, and got possession of her, after all the private trade was taken out. With don Pedro Feron came another don, with plenty of money, to purchase the private trade, and the privateers were to escort the register ship to

the Havannah; but the captains could perfuade very few of BOOK XII. the men to go on board, which obliged them to hire feamen at very extravagant wages, their people on shore being encouraged to fpend liberally, that they might take none of their prize money away with them, and they departed for the Havannah on the 8th of February, 1743.

On the return of the privateers, the captains were determined not to enter this harbour again, and came to an anchor at a place called Salt Keys; they came both on shore to demand their money, which was in the governor's cuftody, and likewise the settee, and private trade; but his excellency told them he would oblige them to share here, as their people owed confiderable fums to the inhabitants of Providence; which debts the captains offered to pay, and faid when that should be done, they hoped to have liberty to depart for their proper port. But a party of drunken fellows, inftigated by some interested persons, took a pilot and his boat, and went on board the two vessels, and brought them into the harbour, upon a pretence that the captains had a defign to deprive them of their prize money, which they ought now to prevent, affuring them, at the same time. they would come to no harm thereby, as they were to be supported by the leading men of the island. On this they went on board, confined their officers, brought in the veffels, and threatened to cut the officers in pieces if they did not share the prizes immediately.

On this the captains went to the governor, and reprefented their case to him, and begged his protection against fuch a dangerous mutiny of the people; and that he would order them on board to do their duty, not doubting but as

foon

BOOK XII foon as they got fober, they would behave as they ought. The governor then told them he had been petitioned by Mr. Ellis, to whom they were in debt, and the whole body of the inhabitants, to have every thing shared here, which, in justice to them, he could not refuse. Upon this the captains shewed the governor the articles signed by all the men, of both veffels, obliging themselves to share no where but at Philadelphia; and affured him that most of them had families there, who had been fupplied by the owners upon the faith of these prizes; and that many of them were indentured servants, whose half shares belonged to their masters, fo that it was impossible for them to consent to the distribution here, not knowing what debts they owed at home; but they were willing and ready to pay what debts the people owed in this place, although they understood they were very considerable.

> The governor told them, fince they would not give their confent to the sharing, he would order it to be done; on this the people were advised to constitute James Irving their agent, with an allowance of 5 per cent. and, when that was fettled, his excellency fent twenty chefts of dollars, being fixty thousand pieces of eight, to Mr. Irving's house, to be divided amongst the people; which the agent did in such an arbitrary manner, that the officers, if they offered to make the least remonstrance, were treated with the utmost indignity; of which they frequently complained to the governor, who as often replied, that "he would not concern himself with their private quarrels;" his usual reply to all complaints on fimilar occasions.

Mr. John Snow, the fecretary, now returned from the Ha-BOOK XII. vannah with feveral English prisoners in exchange for the Spaniards he carried there, and twelve more, whose discharge don Pedro Feron complimented me with, in return for some little civilities I shewed him while he resided here: of the twelve, ten were masters of ships, and one a surgeon. Mr. Snow brought with him four chefts of dollars (or twelve thousand pieces of eight), as it was reported, for the governor, and a purfe with one thousand quadruple pistoles, a gold hilted fword, a gold-headed cane, gold buckles and buttons, besides many other valuable presents; and as the chests with the money could not be brought privately on shore, it was given out that the governor had fent rials in exchange for the dollars; but every body faw through this thin pretext, for it was very well known there were not fo many rials on the whole island; besides, there was at this time above one hundred thousand dollars in the place, as the Spaniards had brought plenty with them to purchase the private trade and naval stores.

When the officers of the privateers, who had ventured their lives for this prize, found they could obtain no justice, they petitioned his excellency, that now, fince the money was shared, he would be pleased to let them depart with the fettee and her cargo, with the private trade, which he promised to do upon his word and honour; but they were detained from time to time, under various pretences, till the people had spent all their shares, which were four hundred and fifty dollars a man; and which they did in a very short time, by gaming and throwing it away as fast as they got it. They were again encouraged by their agents to petition

1743.

the fettee, and the private trade, might be fhared also; which was accordingly ordered to be done.

The captains finding there was no end of these singular proceedings, got the ten chefts of money referved for the owners, as their one third share of what was divided before, hired the English sailors, which came from the Havannah, to man their vessels, and failed from hence, leaving all the rest of the property behind. Captain Dowall fpringing his main-mast, was obliged to return here to get it repaired, and thought it prudent to take whatever share they pleafed to give him, rather than run the rifque of lofing all. The poor failors, when their money was all gone. curfed and damned this government; but they foon found to their cost, now all their money was spent, that instead of being courted as formerly, they were thrown into jail, and very exorbitant fees exacted from them. Some were relieved by the humanity of their shipmates, who had a little money left; and two of them, who were bricklayers, I redeemed, by paying their debts, and employed them on the works, where they continued till they were finished. Some of the foldiers having got money on this occasion, it was linted to them. that whoever could pay one hundred dollars, might have his discharge; on which several did purchase it at that price.

Dr. Irving now began to build a fine new house, and, thinking every thing he did was lawful, went to the fort and ordered several of the labourers to go to his house to dig a cellar. The overseer would not allow any of the people to leave the works, without an order from the engineer;

Irving

Irving took the tools out of the men's hands, and ordered BOOK XIL. them to be carried to his house. The overfeer, in endeavouring to prevent it, was miserably beaten, and had his head cut in feveral places; he came to me, all covered over with blood, to complain of the hard usage he had met with: I fent him, in that pickle, to judge Rowlan), to enter his complaint against the aggressor; but he was no sooner before the judge, than Irving followed, who beat the overfeer again, before the judge's face. As foon as I heard how the poor man had been abused, in a place where he ought to have found protection and redress, I went directly to the governor to feek redrefs, but was answered with his usual cant, "that he would not concern himself with private quar-" rels:" however he fent for Irving, who was no fooner in his presence than he threatened death and destruction to any one that durst presume to enter a complaint against him; which so nettled the governor, that he fent him prifoner to the fort; telling him, at the same time, that it was not for the complaint laid against him, but for the want of that respect due to his person; upon which explanation I left him; but, upon an application from Scott and Stuart, Irving was fet at liberty.

In the evening, as I was fitting in company with the parfon, the collector, lieutenant Dromgole, and feveral others, my fervant came and told me, before the company, that Dr. Irving, and one Cuthbert, were fwearing death and revenge against me and my overseer; and that they were waiting for me with loaded pistols before their door, which was next to mine, and by which I must necessarily pass in my way home. This alarmed the company; some advised me to send for

the

but, finding me determined to go home, they offered to efcort me, for which I thanked them kindly, and told them, that as I well knew all bullies to be cowards, I would make my way, attended by my overfeer alone; but, as it was clear moon light, and they could fee as far as I went, they might fland at the door till I paffed those bravos, that they might bear witness of what might happen. We proceeded with cocked pistols in our hands, and coming to Irving's door, he thought proper to sculk behind it; I stood some time there, and finding all quiet, I went very peaceably home to bed. This being told the next day, with all its circumstances, to the governor, he only replied in his usual style, that "he had nothing to do with private quarrels;" for if

one was killed, he would hang the other.

About this time, a scene of confusion and dissension began to take place in the island; and the sudden death of Mr. Hodges, the chaplain of the garrison, gave rise to a variety of speculations.

Two days after which, I received a letter from lieutenant Moone, of which the following is an extract.

" Fort Montague, July 7, 1743.

" be

" Sir,

"In a conference I had with governor Tinker, the 3d instant, wherein part of the discourse rolled upon some quarrels and divisions which happened lately amongst some gentlemen in Nassau, the governor intimated, that they were to be thrown into the public scale, as if he was to

" be answerable for them; which he seemed much exaspe-BOOK XII. " rated at, and occasioned the following declaration: that " he would not, for the future, interpole in any of their " quarrels, for if one was killed, the other should be hanged: " and then he would be quit of two troublesome persons. " I give you this hint by way of caution, which feems to be " levelled at one of us. The fudden and unexpected death " of our minister, Mr. Hodges, on the 5th instant, though " his case was not dangerous, is matter of great speculation " amongst the inhabitants of this island. That the great "God may bless, protect, and keep all honest men out of "the hands of their enemies, is the fincere wish of

## (Signed) W. MOONE."

The little cordiality that had for some time subsisted between the governor and me, and the ticklish situation in which I found myself, began to make me entertain very ferious thoughts of quitting the island; and the invitations which I had repeatedly received from feveral of the colonies on the continent, made it necessary for me to give an intimation of my defign to his excellency; at the fame time taking occasion to acquaint him, that I was far from considering myself in a state of absolute safety, and that if any accident happened to me, I had the greatest reason to believe that a very strict enquiry would be made into the authors of it. That there was fome foundation for this apprehension, will appear from the following letter, which was fent to me by a very particular friend.

" Fort

BOOK XII.

" Fort Nassau, August 10, 1743.

1743. friend.

" Last week I had some discourse with governor Tinker Letter from a " concerning your intention to leave this government, as foon "as the money allowed by his majesty for fortifications, " fhould be expended; upon which the governor replied, "that the engineer, nor nobody elfe, should leave this island "without leave; and that he would order his officers to " stop you, if you attempted it. However I told the go-" vernor I did not apprehend how that could be put in ex-" ecution, confidering that you were independent of this "government, and answerable to the board of ordnance " only. The governor then replied with great warmth and " carneftnefs, that he was king in this government; and if " he gave orders to kill any man whatfoever, his officers " were to obey him, without enquiring into the cause "thereof. This I hint to you by way of precaution, that " you may be upon your guard; I have likewife acquainted " Mr. Moone with the purport of the letter, fince I find "he intends to leave this government by the fame oppor-" tunity."

> One of the complaints against the late governor, was his forcing the inhabitants, by way of punishment, to make three lime kilns; Mr. Scott, his agent, now wanted me to buy this lime of him at a very exorbitant price; I told him I was willing to take it by measure, but not otherwise, and that I would pay him the price I gave governor Tinker for his, which was fix pence per bushel, which he could not refuse; but being nettled because I would not give him the

fum

fum he demanded for the whole, without measure, he ac- BOOK XII. quainted Mr. Fitz William thereof; Mr. Fitz William wrote to Mr. Tinker about it, who shewed me the letter, in which he threatened and abused me in a very injurious manner, for not giving the price he demanded. Upon my declaring I would refent it, his nephew, lieutenant Dromgole, begged me not to write, as he was certain the matter had been wrong reprefented by Scott, and that he would write and explain the matter to his uncle; of which letter the following is a copy.

" Providence, Dec. 11.

"The 9th instant captain Bruce, our engineer, paid Mr. Letter from "Scott for your lime, at fix pence per bushel, according to Dromgole. "Scott's agreement with him, which is the fame price was " allowed to governor Tinker for his; you have both been. " greatly imposed upon in the making of it, because the en-"gineer made all the lime for building fort Montagu at less " than half a rial per bushel, and charged the government " no more. Mr. Scott, upon receiving your letter, and fee-"ing what you had wrote to the governor on that head, re-" fused, for some time, to take the money from the engineer; "but as I wrote you before in a former letter, that by the "carelessness of your good attorney, the half of your lime " was stole and washed away by the great rains, which I " heard governor Tinker and Mr. Scott fay from their own " mouths, before ever the engineer touched it, otherwise it "would have turned out very much to your advantage; " and I beg leave to tell you that I am extremely forry that " governor Tinker shewed him your letter, because you " have threatened to make captain Bruce smart if he did " not

BOOK XII. " not comply with your demands; besides, you have treated " him with fo much indignity and contempt, that he has " conceived a just refentment against you for it, which makes me dread the confequence. Perhaps you may ima-" gine he was some little theorist, sent out by the board of ordnance; if fo, you are greatly mistaken, for he is one " of the best engineers in his majesty's service, and a gen-"tleman of long experience in the army; has weathered " eighteen campaigns, and, I believe, has built more forts "than all the rest of the engineers on the British establish-" ment, and is a man of the strictest honour and integrity; " but will not pocket an affront of any man, by what name " or title foever dignified or diftinguished. Captain Bruce " has been one of the best friends I met with since my arrival " in Providence; therefore a difference of this fort must " give me no fmall concern, and hope you will write to " captain Bruce to apologize for it."

## PAT. DROMGOLE."

Division of

As the quick-filver was to be divided among the people in the quick-fil- shares, I had bought twenty-eight shares from the officers and some few of the men, who went home in the privateers, who left me a power to receive them from Mr. Irving, their agent; each share was a cag and a half, and each cag weighed one hundred weight; so that I had forty-two cags to receive. When the time for the division came round, I applied for these shares, but could only get eight cags out of the forty-two I had a right to receive; and the agent fent me word that the rest had run out in the cellar by the bursting of the bags in the cags; but if I would fend empty bottles

1743-

bottles to put it in, he would weigh up as much as amounted BOOK XII to my fliare; when the bottles were fent, he told my fervant. to come for it the next day. Mr. Keowin, the provost marshal, then attended, at my defire, to receive it, and was told by Mr. Irving that as he had not received it by weight, he would not deliver it on those terms, and fince it had made its way into the cellar, he might go and gather it up. himself. Upon Mr. Keowin's going into the cellar to look for it, there was none to be found. Mr. Irving had previously taken care to gather it up in jars, and convey it by negroes to his own house in the night time, which all the people in the neighbourhood offered to prove. When a complaint was made to the governor, he faid that as the quick-filver had burst the bags, and was run into the cellar, he could not in justice defire Mr. Irving to deliver it, as it might have made its way to the Antipodes for ought he knew. At the same time, I had several cags run out into my own cellar, taken up without losing an ounce. This abfurd and barefaced injustice in the governor, was a matter of great furprize to all the inhabitants.

The money allowed by government for fortifying this The captain place being all expended, I intimated it to the governor, and applies again to the affemtold him I intended to go to Charlestown till a fresh supply bly to bring materials. of money could be obtained from England, to finish what was begun; but he replied, that as a war had been proclaimed against France, I could not leave the island till fort Nassau was finished; for which he would advance his own money, and be answerable for so doing to the board of ordnance. I told him I would not accept his money, without an order from England; but if he would take upon a

him :

BOOK XII him to pay the tradefmen and labourers himself, I would direct the work till it was completed. This he agreed to, and I forwarded the works with the utmost diligence. As the affembly was fitting at this time, I had recourse to them again for their assistance, thereby to put it the sooner out of the enemies power to annoy them; to which the affembly unanimously consented, and affessed every taxable in the island to furnish his quota of the necessary stone and timber for finishing the work; yet notwithstanding this went much against the grain with the triumvirate, they could not well, in the present situation of affairs, refuse their assent, fo that it was affirmed by the council.

The affembly governor's falary.

The agreeable prospect the inhabitants had formed to themwithdrawthe felves of living happily under Mr. Tinker's government, and which they had built upon the fair beginning he made, in turning out his predecessor's evil counsellors, by whom they had been so grievously oppressed, induced the assembly, on the governor's arrival, to appoint him a yearly falary of two hundred pounds sterling; but now finding their expectations fo effectually disappointed, the affembly declared that they were unable to continue the governor's falary any longer; and finding themselves opposed in this affair by Mr. Scott, their speaker, they voted him out of the chair, and chose Mr. Florentine Cox in his place; on which the governor diffolved the House of Assembly; and that he might mortify them more effectually, he appointed James Scott one of his council, and made him chief-justice, treasurer, naval officer, storekeeper, &c. thereby to enable him to revenge chimself upon the inhabitants.

The

The three domineering gentlemen now joined, and for BOOK XIII their own account built a new floop, and had the vanity to call her after their own usual distinguishing title, the

The bad usage I had hitherto met with, made the governor suspect me of being instrumental in his losing his salary, as also that I sent complaints against him to England; but I declared I neither did the one nor the other; at first indeed I did my best to persuade the assembly to settle that salary upon him, but as soon as I learned they were determined to with-hold his salary, I withdrew myself from the assembly, and went no more near them; so that I acted neither pro nor con in that affair. Upon this Mr. Moone wrote me the following letter, dated Fort Montagu, December 30.

"The 27th instant I waited on governor Tinker, to know Letter from "his commands. As foon as I was feated he told me he was Moone. " furprised that I did not dine oftener at his house, and that "I kept company with persons disaffected to his govern-" ment; which could be pointed at none but you, Mr. "Cox, and captain Petty, because of our being frequently " in company when I go to town. I told his excellency I "did not know what he meant by difaffected perfons, un-" lefs he would include every body who shewed a just re-" fentment for injuries received from their neighbours, in " defiring a redress of grievances. All the answer the go-" vernor made me was that he hoped it would be in his " power to hang up two or three of them very foon.—As " a farther confirmation of the truth of this affertion, Mr. " John Thompson, one of the council for these islands, as-" fured Hhh

"veral of the inhabitants, that governor Tinker had ex"veral of the inhabitants, that governor Tinker had ex"pressed himself lately in the same manner, in council, in threatning that he would hang up some of the inhabitants; and confirmed the same with an oath. It is therefore incumbent upon us to be upon our guard, lest we should be among the number of the proscribed. His disfolving the house of assembly at this time, because they would not continue his salary, is a signal instance that he prefers his own private interest to the public good.

(Signed) W. MOONE."

An opportunity foon after offered itself for his excellency's gratification in hanging people: a soldier was condemned and executed for stabbing his serjeant; and two negroes belonging to captain Laws, of the navy, formerly stationed here, who were at work for their master in the woods, cutting brazilletta, and being ill used by an overfeer appointed by Mr. Scott, one of them fired a sowling-piece at the overfeer, and lodged some shot in his shoulder; for which he was hanged, and his innocent companion was also hanged, to bear him company.

At the time of these transactions I received the following letter from lieutenant-governor Bull, of South Carolina, dated Charlestown, June 22.

"As it has been determined by the government here, that
have a new magazine, capable of holding 500 barrels of powder, should be built in Charlestown; and as his majesty
has no engineer in this province, upon the British establishment, consequently none with whom I can advise, or
who

"who can be affistant to me in the crecting such a work; I, BOOK XII.
"by the affembly of the province, am desired to apply to
"you for a plan thereof, in brick building, and which I
"request you will favour me with, together with such other
"directions as you shall judge proper. I doubt not but
"this favour will be gratefully acknowledged by the go"vernment here.

(Signed) W. BULL."

In compliance with this request I sent a plan and profile, and such directions as I thought necessary, in two weeks after the receipt of that letter, by a sloop that sailed from hence for Charlestown; but not hearing of its being delivered, I desired lieutenant Moone, who left this the beginning of September for Carolina, in his way to London, to enquire if the plan had been delivered, who wrote me the following letter.

## " Charlestown, September 14, 1744.

"Thanks to the Supreme Being, I am now out of the Another from power of the governor of Providence, and his triumvi-Charlestown." rate. I have enquired about the plan of the powder ma"gazine, which was received and laid before the council;
"the reason why the receipt was not acknowledged, I find to be occasioned by the governor's arrival, and the lieu"tenant-governor's retiring into the country about the time it was sent. They all wish for you on account of their for"tisications, and have wrote to you some time past on that head, which, I presume, you have received advice of.

Hhh2

" I pre-

" I presume the triumvirate go on as usual, Jehu BOOK XII. " like. 3744.

(Signed) W. MOONE.

I never received the letter Mr. Moone alludes to, nor two others written by the new governor, which Mr. Tinker took care I should not; but I received his third letter, as follows:

" Charlestown, October o.

Letter from governor Glen.

" As there are some works to be carried on for the better " fortifying of Charlestown, at the expence of this province, " and as there is, at present, no person here that is thought " properly qualified for giving advice and direction in that " matter, the affembly did recommend it to me to write to "you, to defire the favour of your affiftance: I have al-" ready written twice upon that subject, and hope by this "time you are embarking for this province, where I shall " endeavour that you shall meet with a kind reception. The " affembly have agreed to give you three hundred pounds, "money of this country, as the expence of your passage. "and have likewise come to a resolution to make you a " handsome present for your trouble, provided you arrive 65 here within a month after the date of this letter.

(Signed) JAMES GLEN,"

It is worthy of observation, that Mr. Tinker, at his first arrival in Providence, behaved fo fmoothly and civilly to all strangers, that it was foon spread over all America how happy the people now lived under his mild government; which report enticed feveral people of substance to come, at dif-

different times, from the Continent, Bermudas, and the BOOK XIII Leeward Islands, with an intention of fettling here, being drawn hither by its fertility and wholesome air; but upon finding how the inhabitants were oppressed, they returned from whence they came, and foreading the report wherever they went, deterred others from coming to this place; befides, all our privateers intended to have made this place their general rendezvous; but the treatment Sibbald and Dowall met with, prevented any from coming near us. And even captain Frankland, who was stationed here, would not venture to bring his prizes into this harbour, but fent them to Charlestown, to be condemned and disposed of; which very much mortified our governor, who now found by his endeavours to grasp all, he lost all. It is very much to be lamented that those fertile and valuable islands should lie uncultivated for want of people, which are capable of maintaining many thousand families with ease; but it will ever be the cafe, while the governors are suffered to tyrannize over the inhabitants, as nobody that can do better, will ever come to fettle here, and, of consequence, they must remain uninhabited.

To convey some idea of the value of those islands, I shall endeavour to give the following account of them from my certain knowlege.

The Bahama islands enjoy the most serene and the most Produce of temperate air in all America, the heat of the fun being iflands and ad greatly allayed by refreshing breezes from the east; and the jacent sea. earth and air are cooled by constant dews which fall in the night, and by gentle showers which fall in their proper feafons; so that as they are free from the fultry heats of our

other

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hail, or the north-west winds, which prove so fatal both to men and plants in our other colonies; it is therefore no wonder the sick and afflicted inhabitants of those climates sly hither for relief, being sure to find a cure here. The same causes which conduce so much to the health of man, contribute greatly to the quick growth of plants and vegetables; which here is surprising, for the seeds of limes slung carelessly into the ground without any culture, become, in two or three years, shrubs or little trees in full bearing.

All the islands vary in their extent; while some exceed a hundred miles in length, others are very inconsiderable; the principal are the Bahamas, Lucayos (or Abaco), Harbour-Island, Eluthera, St. Salvador (or Cat-Island), Exuma, Yumeta (or Long-Island), Andros, the Bimines, and Providence, which lies near the centre of the whole, in lat. 25 degrees north, with a fine harbour, which has sisteen feet on its bar at low water, and is formed by Hog-Island, which is three miles long, and now fort Nassau commands the west entrance, and Montagu the east.

All these islands are covered over with wood, as indeed is all America, but with this essential difference, that here the trees themselves sufficiently pay the labour of cutting them down, exclusive of the benefit which results from clearing a fertile soil; for not to mention the mastich tree and other timber so useful in building houses, mills, &c. here are Madeira, mahogany, and cedar, all used in ship building; besides vast quantities of curious woods, as prince-wood, yellow-wood, box, naked-wood (most beautifully veined

and

and marbled), lignum vitæ, black and red iron-wood, ebony, Book xii. manchinelle, black feney, dog-wood, pines, palmettos; and many dying woods, as log-wood, brazilletta, green and yellow fusick; they have likewise trees of valuable bark. which are no where else in such quantity and perfection: among which are the cortex eluthera, or wild cinnamon. growing in such abundance that they exported annually between fixty and feventy tons to Curafoe, and the other Dutch fettlements, where it is made use of in distilling cinnamon waters: the cortex Winterania, a fweet-scented bark, which is also carried to the Dutch, and by them transported to the Levant, where the Turks burn it for perfume and incense. The wild vines are in great plenty in the woods, and when cultivated, are as good as any I ever faw; here is also the myrtle, from which the green wax candles are made.

They have tamarinds equal to any in the world; the Lucca olive, as well as the wild kind; oranges (fweet, four, and bitter), lemons, limes, citrons, pomgranates, plums, fugar apples, pine apples, figs, papues, fapodylles, bananas, fowerfops, water and musk melons, yams, potatoes, gourds, cucumbers, cod and bird pepper, guavas, cafava, plantains, prickly pears, oil of castor, sugar, ginger, coffee, indigo, cotton preferable to that in the Levant, and tobacco; Indian wheat, Guinea-corn, and peas: besides these all the roots of Europe grow wonderfully quick, and to a furprifing fize. The flowering shrubs and other plants are so aromatic, that they perfume the air to a great distance.

Their wild fowl and birds are, the flamingo, fometimes to be met with in flocks of two or three hundred; it is a tall bird, fix feet high, of a most beautiful plumage, being red 1744.

all

ing; wild geefe, ducks, pigeons, and green parrots in great plenty; besides whistling ducks, Musketo hawks, tobacco doves, crab-catchers, galdings, drossels, mocking birds, and humming birds.

The fea hereabouts abounds with fish unknown to us in Europe; those of prey are crocodiles, alligators, sharks, dolphins, fword-fish, sea-devils, spermacæti-whales, grampuses, porpoises, seals, nurses, and snappers; those for food are, the king-fish, jew-fish, hog-fish, pork-fish, mutton-fish, rock-fish, Margaret-fish, cuckold-fish, coney-fish, anglefish, bill-fish, hound-fish, gar-fish, parrot-fish, blue-fish, fucking-fish, tang-fish, trumpet-fish, porjes, grupers, jacks, hynes, old wives, grunts, skate, schoolmaster, breams, tenpounders, stingers, ryspree, mullets, senets, baracuda, shipjacks, albecores, rainbow, threshers, mackrel, hedge-hogs, pilots, shads, pilchards, failor's choice, squirrels, and cavaly; many of these are excellent eating, but such as feed on the copperas banks are poisonous, affecting the joints of those who eat them with itching pains, and the disorder goes off by rubbing the parts; the method used to distinguish the fish is by putting a spoon, or piece of silver, into the water in which it is boiled, which turns black if the fish is poisonous. They make plenty of oil from the nurses, feals, &c. and a beneficial whale fishery might be established here, as that fish comes in great numbers to wean their young among the islands, and several have been thrown ashore, full of the spermacæti; there is likewise found in the shore much ambergrise. Their shell-fish are conques, perriwinkles, coneys, fogers, wilkes, cuckolds, craw-fish, lobsters, crabs; they have also the land-crab, and many forts

forts of tortoifes, of which the hawk-bill is the most va- BOOK XII. luable for its fine shell, and the green kind for eating; the greatest number of which are taken at the Bimini islands. There is also ambergrise found in considerable quantities on thefe shores.

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There are no animals which can be faid to be peculiar to those islands, excepting the guana, which is found in great numbers on Andros, which lies five leagues fouth-west from Providence; it is a small creature, with short legs, and a fhort tapering tail, fomewhat refembling the lizard or alligator, and is about two feet in length; it is esteemed delicious eating, and is taken in great plenty by the people of Providence. On forme of the other islands are numbers of wild hogs, sheep, and goats, which are produced from a breed left there by the inhabitants; and from which they are now supplied with fresh meat when they go to cut dye woods, or rake falt at Exuma, of which they export yearly many ship loads to our northern colonies on the continent.

In short, it is their own fault if the inhabitants want any of the necessaries of life: they have horses, cows, sheep, goats, hogs, and all forts of poultry, and have grass all the year round; but they neither fow nor plant more than is necessary for maintaining their own families; whereby one of the most fertile parts of our West Indies is neglected for want of cultivation. They depend on their cargoes of falt, mahogany plank, dying wood, tortoifes, fruit, &c. which they fell to great advantage; and likewise upon the shipwrecks, which happen frequently upon those extensive banks; all which make them careless in improving the naBOOK XII. tural produce of that fertile country which, were it once well peopled, would foon be in a flourishing situation.

Infacts.

The greatest inconvenience they have here is from the plague of numerous vermin, or infects, which torment them both night and day; as bugs, cock-roches, musquetos, flies, fand-flies, ants, and trigers: the last kind are no larger than a mite, and are very troublesome to strangers; they get through the foles of people's feet, and lodge betweenthe skin and the flesh, where they lay their eggs and breed, if not timely prevented, which is done by picking them out with the point of a needle, at which the negroes are very dexterous; and care must be taken to get out the bag (as they call it) with the eggs, and then they fill the wound with tobacco or fnuff; but if they are fuffered to remain, they cause most intolerable itching pains, and great swelling in the legs, which are often attended with danger to the The ants are also very troublesome, by creeping into the houses and beds, and require care and attention to keep them from the victuals, especially sugar, of which they will carry off a great quantity in a night's time. The musquetos and fand-flies come in great swarms in the evening from the woods, and people are obliged to drive them off with fmoke round their houses all night long: this inconvenience is chiefly occasioned by their not clearing the ground from those thickets of underwood; an instance of which we experienced at fort Montagu, where I cleared away all the wood within cannon shot, and there, by that means, was happily delivered from the infects both by day and night. The governor took the example, and cleared to a confiderable

able distance from his own house, and several of the inha-BOOK XII. bitants were beginning to do the same.

The Bahama islands, in general, are more conveniently Observations fituated for annoying the Spaniards in time of war than dor and the any of all our other fettlements, especially two of them. Bimini illands. The first is Salvador (or Cat-Island) the eastermost of the whole; it lies clear of the bank, and furrounded by the ocean; is most conveniently situated for intercepting the outward-bound trade of Old Spain; lies between the 24th and 25th degrees of north latitude; is 45 miles long by 7 broad, 28 miles from Eluthera, and 90 from Providence.

The next is the Biminis, 105 miles west from Providence. 120 north from the Havannah, and only 60 from the continent of Florida; by which it has the full command of the gulph, through which all the homeward-bound trade of the Spanish West Indies must pass: in war time this would be the most advantageous station in all British America. The harbour is formed by two islands; the west, and principal entry is from the gulph, and only a quarter of a mile broad, where, and all within, it has only ten feet at low water, and eighteen at high water; it is fecured by rocks on the north, but first-rate ships can ride close to the western shore, free from all winds; the east entry is only for boats, and is dry at low water; these entries are only two miles distant from each other, but the harbour it six miles in length from north to fouth, and could contain all the privateers of America. The Spanish homeward-bound ships generally take in their wood and water here; and here the people of Providence catch most of their tortoise, and are frequently taken, and carried prisoners to the Havannah. The island

opinion if two or three floops of war had been stationed at this place when general Oglethorpe besieged St. Augustine, they would effectually have prevented the Spaniards from sending their gallies from the Havannah, with men and ammunition to their relief, and the place must have fallen into that general's hands, as the Spaniards were in great want of both at that time, and must have surrendered. This harbour might be easily secured by a small fort with a sea battery, as the entrance is so narrow: it lies in 25 degrees north latitude. The Bahama island lies 48 miles north, and Andros 60 south, from this; but none of all these valuable islands are inhabited, excepting Providence, Harbour Island, and Eluthera.

The inhabitants of Providence. The inhabitants of Providence, Harbour Island, and Eluthera, consisted at this time of English, Scotch, Irish, Bermudians, mulattos, free negroes, and slaves; their whole number were

Heads of families,	310
Women and children,	689
Negro, male flaves,	426
Black women and children,	538
The independent company, officers included, -	100
Harbour Island and Eluthera in all,	240
Total inhabitants of the Bahamas,	2303

white and black men, women, and children; which might maintain more thousands, than they have hundreds.

Fort

Fort Nassau and Sea Battery were finished the latter end BOOK XII. of December, which I rebuilt almost from the foundation, as = I found them in a very shattered ruinous condition: I found it necessary to add a new bastion in place of an old square Description of fort Natlau. tower, and built in it the powder magazine and gunner's store, each of them to contain 300 barrels of powder; and under the east curtain three large stores, or casemates, and a gate, all bomb-proof; above the gate an arched apartment for the governor, with a view of the whole town and harbour; upon each point of the bastions are sentry boxes of stone; through the west curtain is a fally port and casemates, also bomb-proof, before which is the sea battery; and the whole is furrounded with pallifades of mastich wood, eight inches square, and three inches distant from each other, eight feet above ground, and two feet funk in the rock, well fecured above and below with rails and braces. As there were formerly no buildings within the fort, except barracks of wood entirely decayed, I built new barracks of stone to contain six hundred men, and a suitable set of apartments for officers; likewife a kitchen and bake-house, with two ovens, above which are apartments for the chaplain, furgeon, gunner, and armourer; within the fort is a well with fresh water, and one before each gate within the pallifades. The whole is mounted with fifty-four pieces of cannon, 6, 9, 12, and 18 pounders, all on new carriages, besides twenty-six brass mortars, two of which are of 7. inches, twelve of  $5^{\frac{1}{2}}$  and twelve of  $4^{\frac{1}{2}}$  inches, mounted on new beds.

The finishing of both those forts cost government no Cost of both more than four thousand pounds, whereas a former esti-forts.

mate,

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BOOK XII. mate, for the same thing, came to twelve thousand, two hundred fifty-four pounds nine shillings and ten pence three farthings; but as I happened to come here at a time when war was declared, and we were threatened with an invasion, and being then exposed to the insults of an enemy, the inhabitants very frankly provided materials for their own fecurity, which, with the other frugal methods I took, faved the government feveral thousand pounds; but I was ill rewarded for this my faithful and dangerous fervice.

> When all was finished, the governor and I attested each other's accounts, and I gave him a bill on the board of ordnance for two thousand and four hundred pounds he had laid out toward finishing those works, and he gave me, at the same time, a certificate of my having performed and finished all the works necessary to be done in the island of Providence, which I gave in to the board of ordnance on my arrival in London.

As Mr. Tinker was conscious how far he deserved complaints to be entered against him, he sent his secretary, John Snow, by the way of Jamaica to London, to forestall any complaints that might be entered there against him; but he might have faved himself both the trouble and expence, for I neither mentioned, nor intended to mention, his name in London, knowing that a redress of grievances is not easily obtained.

While I was preparing for my departure for Carolina, captain Jelf, of the Swallow floop of war, with his officers, arrived here in a boat; he had been fent from Charlestown with two brass mortars, and a quantity of bomb shells, shells, that had been lent to general Oglethorp in his expe-BOOK MIL. dition to St. Augustine, and his ship was cast away on the rocks of Abaco: what surprised me was, his having the same pilot on board that came with us in the Tartar man of war, under whose conduct we very narrowly escaped being wrecked upon the very same rocks. Captain Jelf had intended to carry me with him to Carolina, but was now very glad to take his passage with me in a sloop I had hired.

When every thing was ready for our departure, and as I was informed that Stuart's floop was to go to Abaco to bring what could be faved from the wreck of the Swallow. I fent my overfeer with an open letter to him, demanding his attendance at Abaco, to give me fatisfaction for the treacherous infult I had received from him: he fent me word that he. would go to the governor and ask his leave, and soon againreturned me for answer that he could not obtain it; upon which I wrote to the governor, and reminded his excellency of the infult I had received from Stuart, and the promife he gave me, upon his word of honour, to order him, asfoon as the works were finished, to attend me; and as his floop was going to the wreck, I hoped he would perform: his engagement, as this gave us a proper opportunity to decide that affair; but Mr. Tinker gave me an absolute refusal, well knowing himself as much in fault as the other : on this, I wrote again to Stuart, telling him that I knew he had a law-fuit depending at Charlestown, which would foon require his presence there, and that I would wait five or fix months for him; to which he replied, he would attend me there. These requisitions I had determined to make in as public a manner as I could, and transacted them be-

fore

BOOK XII fore captain Jelf, and his officers, collector Boothby, and captain Cox, that he might not have an opportunity to deny facts; yet, notwithstanding Stuart's friends and attornies at Charlestown represented the necessity of his perfonal appearance there, as the whole fuccess of his lawfuit depended on it, and his own repeated affertions that he was just coming over, he never made his appearance all the five months I stayed there, and thereby lost his cause, which was matter of diversion at Charlestown, where captain Jelf and his officers had made the reason of his not appearing as well known as it was at Providence, and was afterwards revived by Boothby and Cox.

The captain dence.

On the 5th of January I went on board the Pelham floop, leaves Provi- a new vessel built of mahogany, by Florentine Cox, who also commanded her, and we failed the same day, with captain Jelf and his officers, and arrived next day at Abaco. where the wreck lay. We were detained feveral days in collecting the crew of the Swallow, who were dispersed over the island; and with the addition of their number (120) we were fufficiently crowded in the Pelham. Stuart's floop recovered the mortars and shells, and the guns, anchors, fails and rigging belonging to the Swallow, which were all fold at Providence; and, as I was credibly informed by letter, were afterwards fold to the Spaniards. We had fine weather and a pleasant passage in the Pelham, attended daily by a number of sharks. Captain Cox, a native of Bermudas, who are estcemed the most dexterous fishers in the world, caught upwards of a score of them in a day: his method was by hanging out a rope, with a noofe at the end of it, through which he hung a piece of beef; when

the shark approached the beef, it was pulled forward through BOOK XII. the noofe, fo that the shark in pursuit of it was slung by the tail, which is large and broad, and in that manner was pulled on board. Some of the fharks were fo large, that when their tail was even with the gunnel, the half of their bodies were under water; we cut these over-grown ones through the middle, and let them drop into the water again, where they were foon torn to pieces by their voracious companions, which afforded us diverting amusement; but as the young are good eating, we brought them on deck, and cut them up for the people, who were thereby plentifully fupplied with fresh provisions, which was a fortunate circumstance, as we had not provisions for such a number: but it is a common faying, that a Bermudian will never die for want at fea, if he is provided with fishing tackle.

In the evening of the 21st of January we arrived before Arrive at Charlestown. Charlestown bar, and as it was then growing dark, low water, and blowing hard, we did not think it prudent to venture over the bar; but two of the English seamen belonging to the Swallow informing captain Jelf that the Irish failors on board, who were the greater number, had entered into a combination to fecure us, and carry the veffel to Augustine, made us attempt to get over the bar. We were no fooner on the bar than she struck, and thumped eighteen times with fuch violence that every shock lifted us from our feet; but as the tide was then beginning to flow, it was with no fmall difficulty we got her about again, and put out to fea, but so leaky that it required our utmost efforts to keep the veffel from going down. We fired frequent guns of diffress, which prevented the mutineers from

BOOK XII. attempting at that time to enter upon the execution of their project. Captain Jelf, in the midst of our confusion. 3745. and under favour of the darkness, had sent off his officers in the boat to the commodore to inform him of our danger; and by day-break next morning two long boats were difpatched full of men, well armed, to our affiltance; and a twenty gun ship was fent down to the bar to be ready to follow us in case of need. This armament quite confounded the mutineers, and we were no fooner within the bar, than they were all fecured in irons on board the man of war, and we got at last safe to Charlestown on the 22d, chiefly owing to the strength of our vessel, otherwise we must have perished; but she was very much shattered by the many shocks she got on the bar. The distance of Providence to this place is 7 degrees, or 420 geographical

> Here I met a kind reception from the governor, council, and affembly, who defired that I would, without loss of time, proceed to furvey the place, and give my opinion touching what I thought was farther necessary to be done for their greater fecurity and defence. After I had taken a full furvey of the place, and had examined the nature of the morass that lies before the town, and sounded Hog Island Creek, I gave in the following report.

Report of the Arength of

miles.

"As this town is built on a point of land, and furrounded Charlestown. " on the east, south, and west sides by Cooper and Ashley, " two large navigable rivers, which render those three sides "frong by nature, yet I observe that all that has hitherto "been done toward fortifying this place is all toward those "rivers; whereas the north fide of the town, toward the main "an enemy, who, by the nearness of the woods, might at any time furprize the town. This place is subject to the same danger by sea; for although the bar is a great fecurity, and fort Johnson commands the usual passage to the town, yet as there is another passage at Hog Island Creek, of greater depth of water than is upon the bar itfelf, and an enemy may pass that way without being exposed to the guns of fort Johnson, or to those upon the curtain-line next the river, they may by that mean's get behind the town, where it is altogether defenceless, and make themselves masters of it.

"I am therefore of opinion that a canal ought to be "cut at the free-school, six or eight fathoms wide, and " eight or ten feet deep, from the one marsh to the other, " it being only 120 fathoms in length; this would prevent " a furprize by land. In the next place, to prevent a fur-" prize by fea, a fascine battery ought to be crected at "Rahte's point, being the only proper landing place, and " another battery at Anfon's house, each of fix or eight guns " of the largest fize, to command the passage through Hog "Island Creek, should an enemy attempt to pass it; besides, "Rahte's point might be flanked by the guns of Craven's " baftion, as well as by those at Anson's house; and after " that passage is thus secured, it would be necessary to erect " a large battery upon the marsh opposite to the town, " part of which is folid and firm, and what is not may be " made fo by driving piles; this battery should be in form " of a horse-shoe, mounted with thirty pieces of cannon " of the largest fize, which would not only command Re-Kkk2 " bellion

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" beliion-road, but also both channels (that of Johnson's Fort and Hog Island) by which the keeping up of John- fon's Fort will become needless, more especially if the bat- tery begun at the point near Granvill's bastion was finish- ed, and that will also render Broughton's battery need- less.

"In the next place I am of opinion that it would be very necessary to erect a regular fort, with four bastions, upon the neck of land between the workhouse and free-school, which would not only cover the town, but command both rivers; and it would be a considerable addition to the strength of such fort if it were surrounded with pallisades, which, in case of an attack, might be lined with negroes either from the town or country: no danger could arise to the inhabitants from their being entrusted with fire arms, since they would be immediately under the eye of their masters, and they would have no access to the fort, or any communication with the works, but within the pallisades alone, where they would prove a great annoy—ance to an enemy.

"The more I consider the situation and circumstances of the place, the more I am confirmed in opinion of the utility and necessity of a fort or citadel, as the town is quite open on that side to the incursions of the Indians; two hundred of whom, by approaching in small parties through the woods, might do great mischief in one night. Your country negroes are quiet at present, but they have not always been so; and their late attempts at Antigua, New York, and Jamaica, may be sufficient warning to any country, where they are so numerous, to pro-

" vide against accidents, and consider of a force that may BOOK XII. " be turned against them; the town negroes also will be " more faithful when they know it is impossible for them "to escape if they should misbehave. I could mention " many more advantages that would arise from fortifying "this important pass; for there is no doubt but there are "people in all towns, who, on the approach of an enemy, " would wish to be as far removed from the danger as pos-" fible, who, knowing there is no escaping, will do their "duty; besides, it will greatly encourage every man to " exert himself when his wife, children, and most valuable " effects are in a place of fecurity. I might likewise take " notice that within this fort there might be houses for the "governor, the council, and affembly; and barracks for " officers and foldiers, besides work-houses, prisons, maga-"zines, arsenals, store-houses, &c. It is therefore my opi-" nion that no enemy we may expect in this part of the " world would venture to attempt this town, knowing of " fuch a strength, till they had made themselves masters of "this fort; and as that could not be attacked but on the " land fide, two or three hundred men would defend it. " unless in the event of a general assault. " I have prepared two plans of a fort, which I herewith

"I have prepared two plans of a fort, which I herewith lay before you; the one of four regular bastions, the other of two bastions, with a raveline before the curtain, to- ward the continent, and two demi-bastions next the town. My not laying before you an estimate of the charges of such works, is owing to my being an entire stranger to the prices of materials and labour; but it may be casily computed by gentlemen conversant in building, as I have

"works that are necessary to be done. But in case this government should find the expence of erecting such a fort to exceed their expectation, and be thereby deterred from putting it in execution; then my next proposal is to cut a moat, or ditch, with a curtain line from Craven's Bastion to the work-house, strengthened in the middle by a bastion, and a demi-bastion next to Ashley River, by which means the town will be inclosed on the land side from one river to the other, and this may be done

A committee of some of the members of the council and affembly were appointed to make an estimate of those works: and as an entire want of stone in this country obliges them to build their works of strength with brick, and they have no lime but what they make of oyster and other sea shells, together with the very high price of labour, they found the execution of those plans would amount to a considerable fum; and as their treasury, at this time, was not in a condition to support the charge, they were of opinion that they should endeavour to negotiate a loan from England at three per cent. or obtain an act of parliament to enable them to raise one hundred thousand pounds of their own currency, by issuing paper notes, and to petition that an able engineer might be fent from London to execute those plans, as they did not choose to trust the execution of them to colonel Baile, their present engineer, alledging he had already run them into great expence in erecting works of no fignification. They pressed me very earnestly to stay with them by offering to double my pay, and to shew me other fa-

vours. I observed if they had applied to me when I came BOOK NII. out to Providence, I could have carried on their works at the fame time; but as that opportunity was now past, it was at prefent out of my power to comply with their request, without an order from the board of ordnance. Befides, as those gentlemen were very dilatory in their determinations, and in a bad understanding with their governor, I should have met with great difficulty to please both parties. However, as they feemed most pleased with my last plan, as the easiest and cheapest, at the defire of governor Glen, I gave full instructions to colonel Baile how it was to be performed, and recommended him to the committee for the execution of it, with affurances that they might fafely trust him. The two batteries at Rahte's Point, and Anson's House, for the fecurity of the passage through Hog Island Creek, were begun. The gentlemen of Charlestown made me a prefent of fifty guineas, alledging that as I was only on my way to England, and not come there with any intention to stay and ferve them, they could not make me the return they intended to have done, if I had come with a defign of being ferviceable to them in putting my plans in execution.

We had a vifit at this time from a war captain, or Indian Vifit from a king as they called him, with about one hundred Cherokee Cherokee king. Indians in his retinue, under pretence of renewing his alliance with king George; but the real object, I believe, was to receive the customary presents. They come all naked on those occasions, and return well clad; they are well shaped, generally of an olive colour, with their faces painted in many different ways, according to their different ideas of conveying

BOOK XII terror to their enemies. Some have one fide black, and the other red; others with four different colours; their heads were adorned with all forts of feathers, intermixed with down, by way of powder; they cover their nakedness with a small piece of skin, or leather; they are excessively fond of spirits, which they will drink till they are quite drunk. Their camp was a mile from the town, to which they returned every night, and after a week's stay, being all new clad, and receiving the customary presents, they decamped, and returned home. I omitted to mention that their king, or chief, with two of his principal officers and three women, were new clothed before they made their public entry into the town; then the chief with his two nobles were brought in state in a coach drawn by fix horses, to the council chamber, where they made their speech, which confilted in a very few words, assuring us of their steady attachment to the crown of Britain: after the ceremonial part of their visit was ended, they shook hands with every one in the room, took their leave, and were conducted back to their camp, in the coach that brought them; they were neither painted nor adorned with feathers, as the rest, but were decently clad in blue cloth, and each a gold laced hat, with which they feemed very well pleafed.

Captain Frankland's rich prize.

Captain Thomas Frankland brought in here a very rich French prize, whose principal loading confisted in pistoles, a few chefts of dollars, and a great deal of wrought gold and filver; the quantity was fo great, that the shares were delivered by weight, to fave the trouble of counting it; fo that pistoles were now seen in Charlestown in greater plenty than the dollars had been in Providence, which could not

but

but be very mortifying to governor Tinker, who was thereby BOOK XII. deprived of the profits accruing from her condemnation, confidering captain Frankland was stationed there; but he met with this mortification in general, as no privateer would ever enter with their prizes into the harbour of Providence after the treatment that Sibbald and Dowall had met with. After all the cargo was taken out of this prize, and the vessel was to be put up to sale, the French captain told captain Frankland that if he would engage to reward him handsomely, he would discover a hidden treasure to him. which no one knew of but himself. Captain Frankland engaged to reward him very generously, and he did discover thirty thousand pistoles in a place, where no one could have thought of finding any thing. The French captain afterwards told governor Glen, that captain Frankland's generofity confifted only in one thousand pistoles; a poor reward, he faid, for fo great a discovery. Captain Frankland made another very accidental discovery: he had taken into his own fervice a brisk little French boy, who had belonged to the French captain, who, having a walking flick of no value, one of the failors had taken it from him: the boy lamented his lofs fo much, that captain Frankland ordered fearch to be made for it, to return it to the boy: the stick was brought to the captain, who seeing it of no value, asked the boy how he could make so much ado about such a trifle. The boy replied briskly, he could not walk like a gentleman, and show his airs without a stick in. his hand; upon the captain's going to return him the stick, he gave him a tap on the shoulder with it, and finding something rattle in the infide of it, withdrew to a room by him-

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BOOK XII, felf, and taking off the head of it, he found jewels (according to the French captain's report) worth twenty thousand pistoles; who had given the stick to the boy when he surrendered, in hopes of faving it, as no body would take notice of fuch a trifle in a boy's hand. Upon the whole, she was a confiderable prize to captain Frankland.

> About the fame time, captain Joseph Hamer, of the Flamborough man of war, brought in here a Spanish prize, with fuch a quantity of dollars on board that he shared twelve thousand for himself.

A fhort description of Carolina.

Carolina is now fo well known, that I need not give a description of it; yet I cannot omit mentioning that it is, in general, very low and flat, the foil being, for the most part, fand interspersed with swamps and marshes, which yield great plenty of rice, with which they have carried on a confiderable trade; but as the demand for it was leffened by the war, the inhabitants turned their thoughts to the culture of indigo, and have brought that article to confiderable perfection. They have abundance and variety of fruits; but their oranges and vines are frequently blafted by the north winds; mulberry trees grow here in plenty to great perfection, so that they might easily breed a number of filk worms, which would add a very beneficial branch to their trade. The face of the country is covered with wood; their live oak, which is an evergreen, is, in my opinion. preferable to English oak for ship-building; their pines grow to a prodigious fize, fit for any masts. Their woods abound with all kinds of venison and wild fowl, especially turkeys and fummer ducks; the latter came from the interior parts of the country, fince the planting of rice; they are

extremely beautiful, and are kept about gentlemen's houses BOOK XIII as a rarity. Whilstling birds are here in great variety, ofwhich the mocking bird is the most entertaining; they come in numbers out of the woods, and are fo very tame and familiar that they perch on the house tops, and on the trees before the windows, especially when they either hear music or finging, to which they listen with great attention, and afterwards repeat the notes. I took feveral of them and the fummer ducks to bring with me to Britain, but in spite of all my care they died at sea.

The Rose and Flamborough men of war having got their The captain orders in the latter end of May to fail for England, and fails for Engtake fuch merchant men as were ready to fail under their convoy, I took my passage with captain Hamer in the Flamborough. I put a quantity of quick-filver, mahogany plank, dyeing-wood, and cotton, on board two of the merchant ships for London, in equal proportion, not being able to get those goods insured here. The one was afterwards taken in the English Channel, and carried into St. Malos: the other arrived fafe at Cowes in the Isle of Wight. We failed from Charlestown on the 1st of June, with five merchant men under our convoy; and after two days fail in fine weather, with a fair wind, we left the five ships under our convoy in the night, and made the best of our way homewards, with very pleasant weather. We past to the northward of the Azores, or Western Islands, and one evening we discovered three fail to windward, bearing down upon us. In the morning one of them, which was a prime failor, having left the others at a very confiderable distance, came pretty near up with us, and perceiving her to be a ship of L112

war,

BOOK'XII, war, captain Frankland made the fignal to put about and meet her; which she perceiving, immediately made back to her conforts, and we proceeded on our course again, and faw no more of them; nor did we fee any more ships till we got into the Channel, where we met a large man of war and a frigate, under Dutch colours. On hailing them, they told us they were from Helvoetfluys, bound for the Mediterranean, to cruize against the Algerines, and at parting they faluted us with nine guns, which we returned by the fame number. In the evening we got into Plymouth harbour, followed by two merchantmen, a Dane and a Dutchman, who both informed us that the ships we had hailed were French; that the man of war was the Elizabeth, who had a little before had an engagement with the Lion, and that the frigate in company had the Pretender's eldest son on board, which our captains would not believe, but regarded as a mere fable; but the event afterwards evinced the truth of it. After one day's stay in the Sound we failed for the Downs, and arrived off Dover the 25th of July, when, according to our ship's reckoning from Carolina, we had failed five thousand two hundred miles. I went ashore at Dover, and got to London on the 27th.

Arrive at London.

On my arrival I found every body in the utmost consternation upon the news of the Pretender's fon being landed in the north of Scotland, at a time when both the king and army were abroad, which afterwards brought the nation to no small trouble and expence. After I had delivered my report and accounts to the board of ordnance, and settled my own affairs, I was ordered to repair to Hull, where the magistrates had petitioned the board to send them

an engineer to direct them how to carry on their fortifi- BOOK XII. cations, which they were at this time repairing at their own charge. I arrived at Hull on the 8th of Ostober, where I found people of all ranks industriously employed in deepening and clearing out their moats and forming their parapets; next day I attended lieutenant-general Jones, deputygovernor, the mayor and aldermen, round the ramparts; I was furprifed to fee the great progress they had made in so fhort a time, and to as good purpose as if they had been directed by an able engineer. At their defire I left them further directions how to proceed for the better defence of the place; and having received a great many civilities from them, I proceeded, in obedience to my orders, to join the army under marshal Wade.

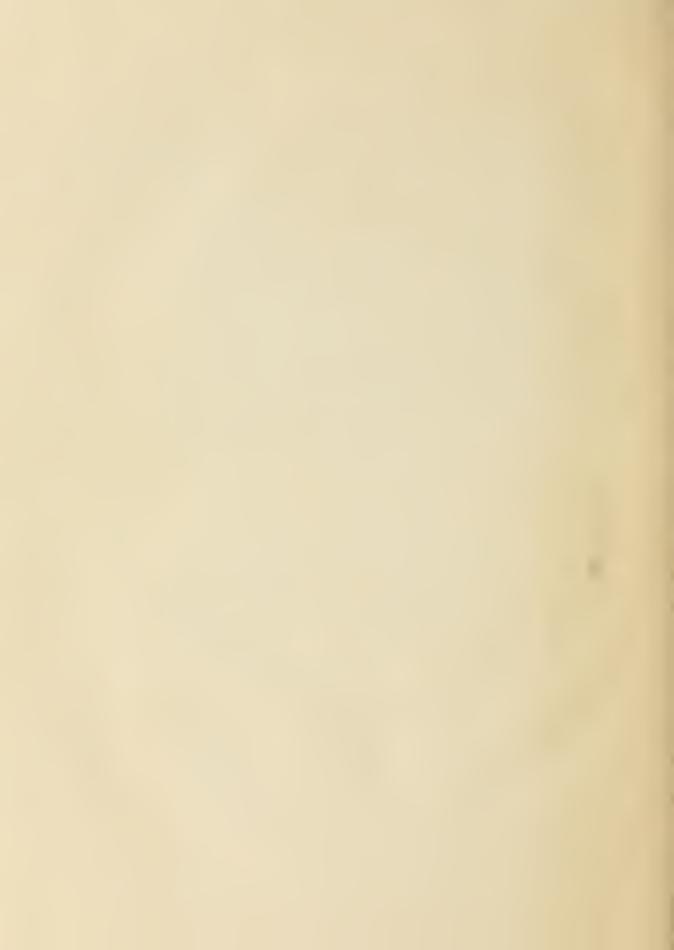
On the 15th I arrived at Doncaster, where the Dutch troops had joined us; on the 18th the marshal reviewed the army, and broke up the camp on the 21st to proceed northward; the Dutch behaved on the march as if they had been in an enemy's country, robbing, plundering, and abufing the country people; the particulars of their behaviour are too shocking to relate. On the 31st we arrived at Newcastle, where we encamped in very cold, bad weather; and here receiving intelligence that the rebels had befreged Carlifle, we broke up to march to its relief, leaving near one-fourth of our army fick in the hospital.

On the 18th of November we got to Hexham in Northumberland, in extreme cold weather, which march, with the fudden transition from a warm to a cold climate, entirely ruined my health, being feized with a rupture and an afthma, which disabled me from standing the hard fatigues

BOOK IXI. tigues of a winter campaign. We were informed here that Carlisle had furrendered to the rebels, on which we marched back to Newcastle, where we arrived the 22d. The weather was now become fo intenfely cold, that the army could not pitch their tents, fo they were quartered in the town and adjacent villages. In this fituation we received intelligence that the rebels had marched for Wales, which made us leave our warm quarters, and march fouthward. On the 6th of December we reached Ferrybridge, from whence we fent our fick to Doncaster, and our horse and dragoons to join his royal highness the duke of Cumberland, and we arrived at Leeds on the 11th, where we were informed the rebels had returned back for the North, on which our army marched back again.

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